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PORCUPINE'S
WORKS;

CONTAINING VARIOUS
WRITINGS AND SELECTIONS,
EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL PICTURE

OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

OF THEIR
GOVERNMENTS, LAWS, POLITICS AND RESOURCES;

OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEIR
PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, LEGISLATORS, MAGIS-
TRATES AND MILITARY MEN;

AND OF THE
CUSTOMS, MANNERS, MORALS, RELIGION, VIRTUES
AND VICES

OF THE PEOPLE:

COMPRISING ALSO
A COMPLETE SERIES OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS
AND REMARKS,

FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1783,

TO THE
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

(A Volume to be added annually.)

V O L. IX.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR COBBETT AND MORGAN, AT THE CROWN
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MAY, 1801.

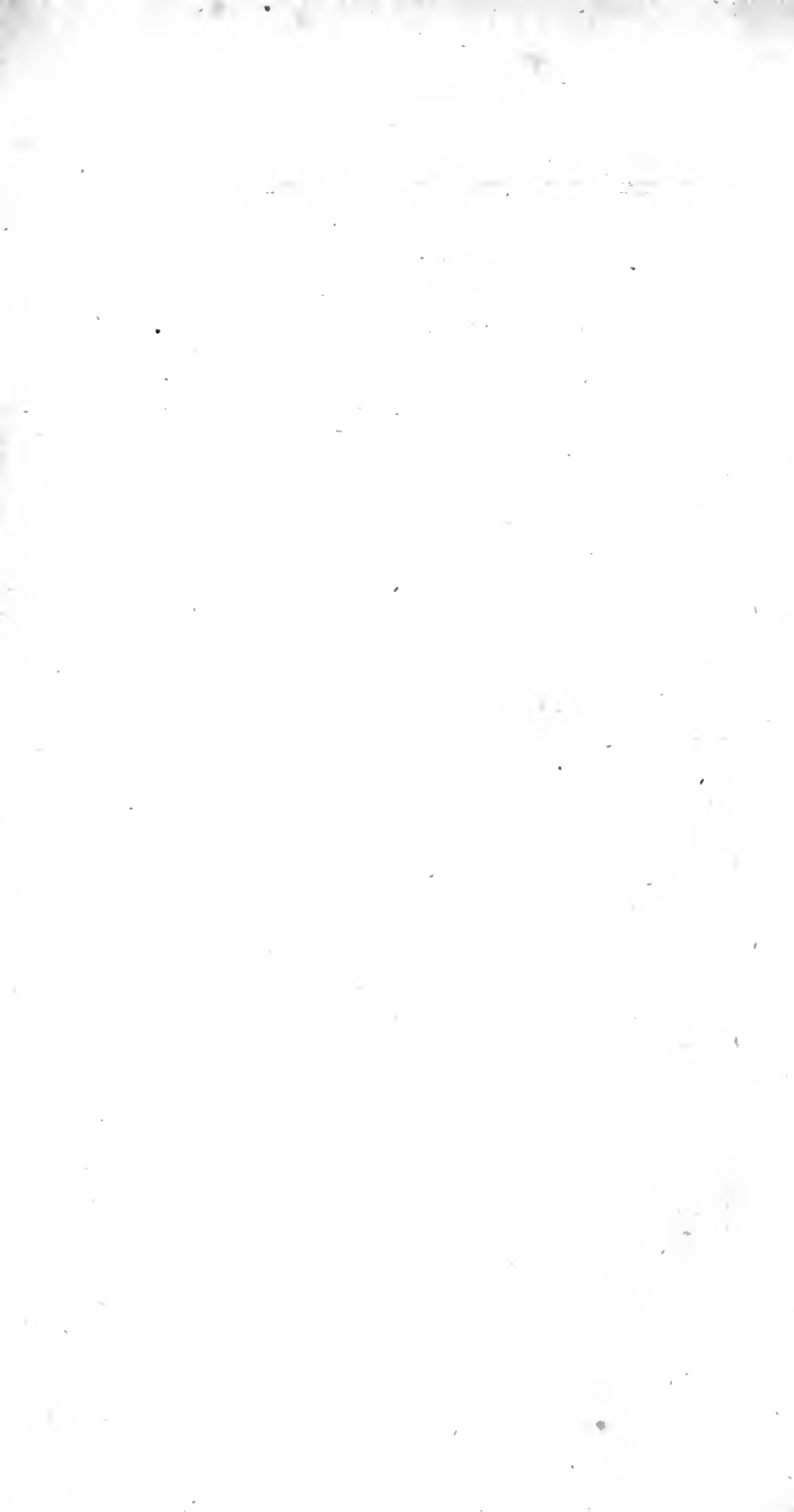
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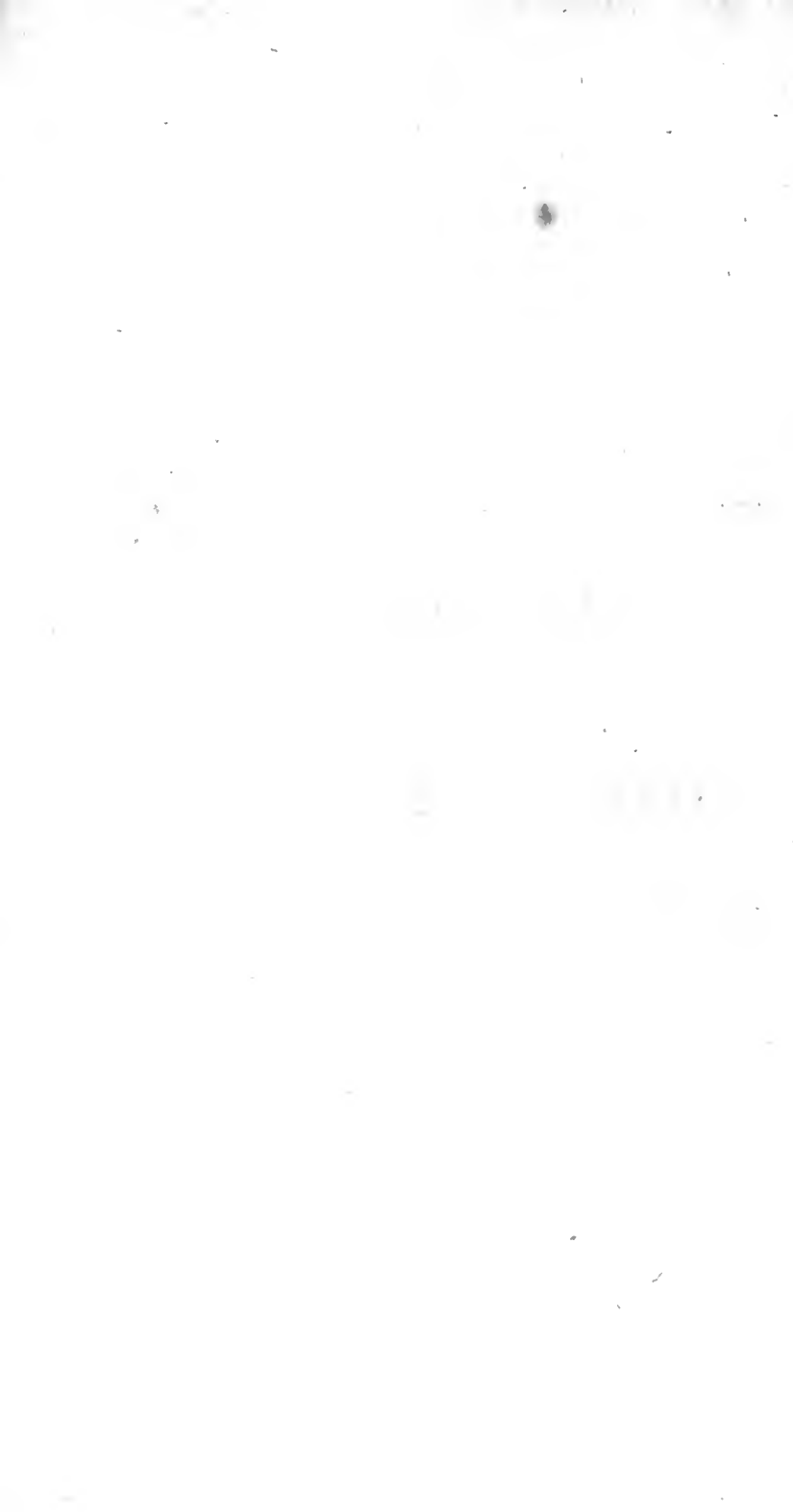
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SELECTIONS

FROM

PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE.



GAZETTE SELECTIONS.

JULY, 1798.

FRENCH ROYALISTS *.

IN the House of Representatives, on Saturday last (the 30th June) a message was received from the Senate, informing the House that the Senate had passed a bill, intituled, "An Act to authorize the

* When the evacuation of *Port-au-Prince* was resolved on by the British, the *Royalists* of property, in that place, chose to be conveyed to the United States, which they were, in several merchant vessels, under convoy of an armed ship (the *Mole Packet*), which was commissioned by His Majesty. When they arrived in the Delaware, near Philadelphia, they were obliged, by the law of the State of Pennsylvania, to perform quarantine. While they were thus waiting, one PINKERTON, a vile democratic American, who hated them because they were Royalists, and who had, during the voyage, been refused to *participate in their repasts*, conceived a scheme for distressing them, and, if possible, exposing them once more to the knives of the republicans. In order to carry this infamous scheme into effect, he wrote a letter to another republican, who was, at that time,

President to regulate the landing of French passengers and other persons who may arrive within the ports of the United States, from foreign places ;" to which they desired the concurrence of the House.

This Bill, as it now stands, goes, 1. To authorize the President to *prohibit* or to *permit*, the landing of all white French passengers, who may have arrived, or shall hereafter arrive in this country.

2. To subject to a *fine* of 500 dollars or *imprisonment* not exceeding three years, every white French inhabitant who shall violate the regulations to be provided in the case.

3. To subject the Captain who permits such persons to come on shore (contrary to the regulations) to a fine of 500 dollars, and to authorize the *arrest*

President of the Board of Health, representing the new-comers as very *numerous* and very *dangerous*. This intelligence was conveyed to Millin, the sans-culotte Governor, who moulded it into a report for the President, and this latter, like a precipitate old ass as he always was, made the malicious lie the subject of a message to Congress. This body, catching the spirit of the rest, immediately brought in a bill for preventing the Royalists from landing, without considering, that it was in itself *ex post facto*, and a direct violation of the Treaty with Great Britain.—*I alone* took the part of the Frenchmen. My interposition roused up a host of enemies against me : some scores discontinued to take my paper ; but all that they could say, or do, had no effect. The Frenchmen, seeing that they had nobody else for a friend, applied to me to defend them. They furnished me with the means of proving the falsehood of Pinckerton's statements, and finally enabled me to save them from being driven back to the West Indies.—The bill passed in the Senate on a Saturday. On Sunday night I wrote to the President's Secretary on the subject ; and, on Monday, just as the bill was brought forward in the lower house, I caused all the vouchers of the contradictory statement to be put into the hands of Mr. Harper, by which means the bill was thrown aside.—The documents relative to this envious affair ought to be preserved.

and

and *imprisonment* of the persons thus clandestinely getting on shore.

4. To authorize the President to prohibit the landing of any French negroes and other people of colour.

The bill was read the first and second time, and on motion—The house resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the aforesaid bill from the Senate. A motion was made by Mr. Sewall to strike out the second section which occasioned some debate, but was at length agreed to, 43 voting in favour of it. The bill was gone through by sections, when

Mr. Harpersaid, that there were many alterations wanting in this bill, and it was impossible for any gentlemen to prepare proper amendments while the bill was under discussion, there were also a number of good provisions in the bill reported by the committee of the house, which he would wish to see ingrafted in this bill, more especially one proviso which respects the case of those merchants who have been obliged by compulsion to bring these Frenchmen and their negroes in their vessels from the West Indies.

It would certainly, said Mr. H., be a very inhuman thing to force those merchants, who have so nobly come forward in contributing for the support of the country, to carry back these passengers in their vessels, at their own expense, whose vessels are many of them freighted with very valuable cargoes, subjecting them again to all the risks of capture; such will be the case, said Mr. H., if this bill pass in its present form. He therefore moved that the committee now rise, report progress, and ask leave to sit again, in order that gentlemen may make enquiry into the business and be enabled to bring forward their amendments. The ques-

tion on rising was put and carried; 45 voting in favour of it. Leave to sit again was granted in the house.

French Royalists, now stetched up in certain vessels at Fort Mifflin.—Infinite are the pains that have been taken to excite an alarm on account of these people, and I have very good reason to suppose, that every attempt that I have made to do away this alarm has been loudly clamoured against. Nothing of this kind, however, will intimidate me. Every thing I have said is founded in *Truth* and in *Justice*, and while that is the case, I shall be equally deaf to the censure of *Friends* and *Foes*. But it is necessary that I should make the truth and justice of my publications appear to the world; and therefore, after repeating what I inserted on the subject in my last paper, I shall lay before the public a very important CERTIFICATE, which I have since received.

The following two paragraphs and two letters appeared in BROWN'S paper of the 28th instant.

Alarming.—"A most daring attempt was made last night, by the negroes and other passengers on board the vessels now at the Fort, from the Mole and Port-au-Prince, to force their way up to the city. They had taken the command from the officers of the vessels, and were determined to proceed with the first tide up the river. It is impossible to foresee what would have been the consequences of their determination, if the vigilant and praiseworthy conduct of the commanding officer of the Fort, and of Captain Decatur in the Delaware sloop of war, had not completely defeated their design."

"Mr.

" MR. BROWN,

" It is hoped that the difficulty which was experienced last night in procuring a force sufficient to repel an attack, which might have been dreadful in its consequences, will induce some immediate steps for securing us, against any emergency in future. We have nothing to fear, but A SURPRISE—and effectual measures should be taken to secure us against this, from any quarter."

Yours,

A. B.

Ship Josephus, Fort Mifflin.
26th June, 1798.

" SIR,

" Doctor Hall, has this morning communicated to us, the resolution of the board of health, respecting passengers from the West Indies, I think it it would be highly proper for the government, at this critical moment, not even to admit the landing of any French passengers whatever in the United States. There, no doubt, are some men of principle among them; but, be assured, that the far greatest part of these already arrived, are fully ripe for any turn which we may take with respect to France. There has a great many gone to the southern states, and many were preparing to come with the next fleet. I think I should not be far wrong in saying, they will exceed 4000 souls, many without any funds, and some with a considerable number of slaves, that have all been trained to arms and have them with them, and attached to their master's interests. If any measure could be

had, for sending them away, it would greatly add to the security of our country.

“ With esteem,

“ I am your obedient servant,

“ DAVID PINKERTON.”

“ President of the Board }
of Health.” }

Extract of a letter from Major Lewis Tousard, to the Secretary of War, dated Fort Mifflin, June 28, 1798.

“ SIR,

“ I have the honour of informing you, that yesterday, ten o'clock in the evening, the resident Doctor of the hospital of Pennsylvania came on purpose to give me the alarming information, that there existed a mutiny among the vessels in quarantine, now lying above the fort—that he thought in consequence of the report of four of the captains, it was proper to postpone till this morning the order of the Governor of Pennsylvania to be made known to the convoy. The boat of the sloop of war, manned only with negroes, has been seen the whole day plying round all the other vessels which have negroes on board: they seem to have adopted between them the most desperate measures, to the execution of which they are incited by their owners. There is now in these vessels between 250 and 300 negroes, well armed, trained to war, and saying they will land—they know no laws, and count their lives for nothing. Two of the pilots have left the vessels—one of them was so alarmed, that he is sick at the hospital.

“ On

“ On this information, I immediately sent an officer to Captain Stephen Decatur, whose armed ship was at anchor below the fort, with a request of coming up with the tide, and cast anchor on the north east side of the island, where I had no guns to direct upon the insurgents. During that time, with the assistance of the labourers, whose exertions I cannot but highly commend, I had two heavy pieces transported and mounted on that side, when the Delaware passed up, and went to anchor in the middle of the convoy; she is now under way, and proceeds down.

“ As to oppose the landing of these negroes and their proceeding through the Jerseys with their owners to Philadelphia, it is not in my power in the situation they lay above the fort. I have agreed with the doctor, that he would order them this morning below and abreast of my battery—then I may watch their motions.”

Reply of the French Royalists.

“ We, the undersigned, captain, owner, and passengers, of the armed ship MELPOMENE, now forcibly detained in the river Delaware, and placed between the cannon of Fort Mifflin, and those of the American sloop of war, the DELAWARE, having been injured and defamed by the falsehoods and misrepresentations that have been circulated respecting us, and particularly by those contained in a letter from DAVID PINCKERTON to the President of the board of health, and in an extract of a letter from MAJOR TOUSARD to the Secretary at War, (both of which appeared in Brown's Gazette of 28th instant), we feel ourselves called upon, as well for the sake of our reputation, as our interest, to give thereto an explicit and public reply.

“ We

“ We therefore attest, with the solemnity of an oath, that all the pretended facts, stated in the above-mentioned letters, are *false, groundless, and calumnious*, as far as relates to us; that the truth is, we are all peaceable people and of good character, and that we all have fortunes more or less considerable, already lodged in the United States of America; that we have besides sums on board more than sufficient to convince the government, that we are not vagabonds, and “ *without any funds*,” as has been asserted by the *modest and generous* DAVID PINCKERTON; the falsehood of whose assertion it is extremely easy for us to prove to the satisfaction of any persons who may be sent to verify the fact.

“ There are at this moment on board the ship, 56 white passengers, of whom 29 are men, 16 women, and 12 children; 55 negroes, of whom 27 are men, 21 women, and seven children. All the slaves have followed their owners *from choice*, and are, as DAVID PINCKERTON says “ *attached to their master’s interest*,” but *not one of them is armed*, nor is there one of them *that ever bore arms*.

“ It is false also to say, that the greatest part of the crew are negroes; there are but eight belonging to the crew of the ship.

“ We have submitted ourselves to the laws of the country, and so strictly have we done this, that the captain ordered several musquet shot to be fired at a boat, which attempted to carry a sailor from on board, contrary to the quarantine regulations, and this sailor is still detained on board, by order of the resident physician, as are also the two Americans, who attempted to carry him on shore.

“ In reply to what MAJOR TOUSARD asserts about our boat, “ *inanned only with negroes*, plying round the other vessels, &c.” We declare, that,

that, having convoyed four of the vessels now in this road, some of our passengers and officers wished to speak with their acquaintances, on board two of those other vessels which were out of hearing ; that for this innocent purpose, our boat was manned with *four* negroes belonging to the crew, who rowed her to the above-mentioned two vessels, and back again under the command of an officer and the cockswain ; and we declare, that nothing was done contrary to the quarantine regulations or to the strictest good order, and that no such thing as landing by force was either threatened, talked of, or contemplated.—And we further declare, that, during the passage, as well as during the quarantine, we have all continued in perfect good understanding with each other, and also in perfect health.

“ With this statement of facts before their eyes, we leave it to *hospitable* and *candid* men to form their opinion of the treatment we have received ; to judge whether we have merited the calumny that has been heaped on us, and whether the keeping of us in awe required all the formidable warlike preparation of which MAJOR TOUSARD has made such a pompous parade.

“ *Signed, on board the Melpomene, this 29th day of June, 1798.*

G. Majastre, Capt.
L. Schmitt, Lieut.
Thalabert, 2d. Lieut.
G. Bujac, Owner.
Beilin Veilleneuve.
B. Darnaud, Senr.
Jli. Icard.
Hugues (not the infamous
Dupont. Victor)
Long-Pré.
La Fond.
Breare.
Rommain.

P. Belhomme, 2d. Capt.
Martin, 2d. Lieut.
Forgues, Surgn. Major.
De Rouvray.
Bion.
Darnaud, Junr.
Bruix.
Dupont.
Lontrel.
G. Guilbert.
François.
Picard.
Jac. Steller.

Du Chastel.
P. Hartmann.
Le Febvre.
Stirlet.

Epoigny.
D. Hartmann.
Huel."

[This, as far as related to the Sloop of War, was quite satisfactory; but, there yet remained doubt as to the OTHER VESSELS, which doubt, I think must, in the opinion of candid man, be done away by the following certificate.]

" We the subscribers, masters and pilots on board the different vessels from the West Indies, in quarantine at Fort Mifflin,

" DO HEREBY CERTIFY, toall whom it may concern, that the Melpomene's boat *never went along side of any of the said vessels, to attempt to excite the negroes or crews of any of them to mutiny*, and that a perfect discipline and subordination have been kept among the crew and negroes; the greatest harmony has also prevailed among the passengers ever since we have been on board; and moreover, we do certify, that *no negroes have appeared to us to be armed*, nor to have any hostile intentions, far from it; and that what has been written on these different subjects, is false and malicious; in witness whereof we have signed the present.

JACOB CORWELL, pilot of the ship Melpomene.

WILLIAM PRICE, pilot of the ship Fair American.

WILLIAM MARSHALL, of the schooner Harmony.

SAMUEL THOMSON, pilot of the schooner Mole Packet.

CAPTAIN JEMENY, of the brig James.

J. P. MARES, Captain of the schooner Daurade.

THOMAS

THOMAS CHIRNSIDE, Captain of the brig Molly.

WILLIAM CASHMAN, of the Mole Packet.

JOHN BREVOOR, of the ship Fair American.

FRANCIS RHUBY, Captain of the Mole Packet."

[Now, let the candid reader compare this with the assertions in PINKERTON's letter, and in the account of the mutiny conveyed to MAJOR TOWSARD, and on which account his information to the Secretary of War was founded.—Every assertion is proved to be without foundation, except as to the numbers on board. Who would not have supposed, that *great part* of the *four thousand* persons, of whom PINKERTON talks, were actually at the Fort? The fact is (and a shameful fact too), there are, in all, whites and blacks, men, women, and children, no more than about 320 passengers. There is not a single negro *armed*, and, upon an average, there is not more than *one negro* to every white master, or mistress!

The reader will please to observe, that PINKERTON's letter, as well as the account of the *mutiny*, came from on board the *ship Josephus*. The other vessels had lain at the Fort, till their quarantine was almost out, without exciting the least apprehension.—When it is recollected, that all these people are *Royalists*, neither PINKERTON's letter, nor the importance given to it by *Governor Mifflin*, will need any explanation.

As to the *mutiny*, I expect very soon to be able to give a satisfactory explanation of that; in the mean time, I inform my readers, that I have this morning seen a letter from on board the JOSEPHUS, written by MONSIEUR DEBET, a very respectable planter, in which he declares the report to be *totally false*; and, when the reader has cast his eyes over the number and sex of the passengers, I am inclined

inclined to think, he will not hesitate to believe him.—There are aboard the *Josephus*,

Whites.	Blacks.
8 Men	7 Men
8 Women	10 Women
3 Children	3 Children

Total 15 Men, 18 Women, and 6 Children.

—A truly formidable body to rise in mutiny!!

I have also before me a CERTIFICATE (of which I shall give a translation to-morrow), from on board the MOLE PACKET, signed by the captain, the pilot, and the passengers, which last consist of *seven* persons having *three* negro men, and *one* negro woman in their service, making in all, *eleven* persons. This certificate gives a flat denial to the reports of *Pinkerton*, and also to those conveyed to *Major Tousard*.

Before I dismiss this subject, I beg leave to make a remark or two, with respect to the part I have taken in the business.

When I published my observations at the bottom of the PRESIDENT's message, I had not seen a single soul, who was acquainted with the real state of the case; but I very strongly suspected that the Federal government was deceived; and, I believe, my readers will now agree, that my suspicion was not without some foundation.

It most certainly is very proper to pass a law, to guard the country against the effects of *emigration*, already so fatally felt, and I think the law at present, before the House, an excellent one. I think the PRESIDENT ought to be the judge of the propriety, or impropriety of admitting cargoes of foreigners. But, let not falsehood and misrepresentation be resorted to, in order to induce him to act with a rigour,

gour, as foreign to his disposition as it is to the spirit of our benignant laws.

The people on board, if they be wise, will not wish *to remain here*. The name of Frenchman, is *justly* held in abhorrence. Their situation must be uncomfortable. It is impossible for the people here to discriminate.—But they ought to be suffered *to land*. They might be safely kept on the hospital island, till those who have affairs to settle, have settled them, and till the British Minister has prepared accommodations for their departure, *under a safe convoy*: and, I repeat, that he does not do his duty, if he neglects to make such preparations with all possible dispatch.]

The Bill, which was sent from the Senate, on the subject of these people, and other French Emigrants, was yesterday (2d July) *postponed* in the House of Representatives, *till the next Session of Congress*. The people will, of course, be permitted to land.—The fact is, both the Executive and Legislative branches of government, saw that they had been *deceived*, and it was very fortunate that they saw this in time.

The following documents will enable the reader to trace the business to its source, and to fix his indignation on the proper objects.

“ TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT.

“ *Fort Mifflin, July 2, 1798.*

“ SIR,

“ I request you to insert in your next paper the inclosed affidavit.

“ It is not as an answer to the numerous undersigners of the Royalists' reply : It is not an apology
of

of my conduct, which has been already approved by the head of the War Department ; it is not to refute the different falsehoods and misrepresentations, when I have asserted nothing, but merely given an official report to the Secretary at War, of an information communicated to me by the Health Officer; and when they themselves confess the truth of their boat being manned by four Negroes going (contrary to the laws of quarantine) to the other ships of the convoy : But it is to prove to the citizens of this commonwealth, that the officer to whom the Executive has committed the care of their tranquillity and security, in making all the *formidable war-like preparations of which he has made such a pompous parade*, did not indulge a groundless alarm, and has only done his duty, and nothing but his duty.

“ I am Sir,

“ Your humble servant,

“ LEWIS TOUSARD,

“ *Commandant, Fort Mifflin.*”

“ *State Island, 27th June, 1798.*

“ SIR,

“ The doctor has this moment communicated to us, the orders of the governor, for not permitting any French passengers to be landed from on board. We think it highly improper, that the passengers should be informed of it, as it may be productive of *serious consequences* to the ship and crew, they having already shewn a disposition to be very
troublesome

troublesome, and we actually think *dangerous*. They have interfered with the captain's *cleansing the ship*, and encourage their negroes in their *insolence* to the captain *and crew*.

“ (Copy)

“ H. S. KENNEDY,

Master of the Ship Josephus.

“ B. JONES, jun.

Supercargo Ship Josephus.

“ DAVID PINKERTON, Passenger.”

“ *Captain William Jones, President* }
 of the Board of Health.” }

Thus, we see, that the whole of this *Much-a-do about Nothing*, is brought home to these three men, and their coadjutors in the city.

In consequence of the discovery of the *truth*, an order has this morning been sent to His *Excellency* of Pennsylvania, for suffering the people to land without loss of time, and without further inconvenience.—Every man of common humanity, must approve of the conduct of the Executive and Congress; but, that there may be no room for gainsaying, I subjoin the following account of the numbers of passengers.

		MEN.	WOMEN.	CHIL.
Melpomene	{ Whites,	29	16	12
	{ Blacks,	27	21	7
Mole Packet	{ Wh.	4	2	1
	{ Bl.	1	2	1
Sch. Durade	{ Wh.	6	1	0
	{ Bl.	4	3	16
Happy Return	{ Wh.	2	1	1
	{ Bl.	1	1	4
Brig James	{ Wh.	0	2	3
	{ Bl.	6	7	5
Fair American	{ Wh.	2	1	1
	{ Bl.	2	3	4
Josephus	{ Wh.	8	8	3
	{ Bl.	7	10	3
Total,		99	78	61

It appears then, that, in the whole, there are but 238 persons, of which *fearful* number, 139 are *women and children*; and, of the 99 men, only 47 are *negroes*!—Once more, I say, compare this with PINKERTON, and the GOVERNOR's letters, and then doubt, if you can, the motives to which those letters ought to be ascribed.

Quintessence of Rascality.

The following paragraph, on the subject of the *French Royalists*, lately arrived here, is, I think, upon the whole, the most scandalous, insidious, base, and malicious, that ever I perused, even in an American Carmagnole Newspaper.

“ It would seem as if *England* and *France* could never forgive us, for being an independent and

“ a

“ a happy people, and as we may presume, that
 “ Providence is on our side, we defy all *their* im-
 “ potent and impious attempts, to check his views,
 “ to lead us kindly by the hand to a state of inevi-
 “ table prosperity and happiness as yet unknown
 “ on earth. Previous to our revolution, *the Bri-*
 “ *tish insulted us*, by emptying all their *condemned*
 “ *convicts* on our shores—We supplicated in vain
 “ to prevent it, but mark the finger of Heaven—
 “ *most of these very men entered into the American*
 “ *army, and the greater part of them perished, fight-*
 “ *ing valiantly for the liberty of America.* But now
 “ that we are an independent nation, that they
 “ should presume to vomit upon our coasts, at this
 “ period the desperadoes of St. Domingo, is an insult
 “ and an outrage which demands prompt repara-
 “ tion. Many of the poor people are doubtless to
 “ be pitied—and it is inhuman and savage in the
 “ English, *thus to abandon them to their fate*, after
 “ having promised them by repeated proclamations,
 “ protection, and support. *How many instances of*
 “ *this kind were they not guilty of in this country,*
 “ *during our revolution?* How many proclamations
 “ did they not issue, for protecting our deluded
 “ tories of that day? and *can any man recollect an*
 “ *instance of their fulfilling their proffered faith?*
 “ No! It is therefore much to be desired, that we
 “ may wash our hands clear of being entangled in
 “ politics with *such a faithless and corrupted nation.*
 “ I wish to heaven all our treaties were broke, and
 “ all our ambassadors recalled, and that it would
 “ be made *death for any public character, to promote*
 “ *or propose treaties, or alliance with any European*
 “ *powers*—How strangely is the scale reversed—we
 “ have always been accustomed to view Indians
 “ and Algerines, as a faithless, barbarous people.
 “ The event has proved to our cost, that *they are*
 “ *the*

“ *the only people of virtue and honour, with whom we*
 “ *have made treaties.*”

Now, reader, whose paper do you think this infamous paragraph is taken from?—From BACHE’S, GREENLEAF’S, BURK’S, or the O’CAREY’S?—From neither, I assure you; but from that of the *polite*, the *profound*, and *prophetical politician*, NOAH WEBSTER, Esq. and quack, who, no longer than about ten days ago, wrote a letter to the Congress COIT, exhorting him to use his utmost efforts for correcting *the abuse of the press!!*

This sally of NOAH’S, requires an observation or two.—It has hitherto been believed, by the world in general, that the *Independence* of America, was atchieved by the valour and *virtue* of the *Americans*. I must confess, that I saw it in this light; but, NOAH has kindly undeceived us, by attributing a very considerable portion of the glorious atchievement to “ *the condemned convicts,*” which Great Britain had emptied on these shores! This circumstance, if founded in fact, makes a very material change in the relative characters of WHIG and TORY.—Thank ye, NOAH, for this acknowledgement. If ever I hear you boast again of the part *you* acted in the revolutionary army, you will undoubtedly think it a compliment, if I should remind you of your *amiable* and *honest* companions; nor will you, I trust, take it amiss, if I presume that you were led to associate together, from a *congeniality in principles*, and a resemblance in your *manners, pursuits, and adventures*.

Degrading as this acknowledgement is, however, NOAH is responsible for it, to his countrymen alone. It is what I have little to do with; or, at least, I have much less to do with it than with the remaining part of the infamous paragraph.

“ But,”

“But,” (says he, heightening the tone of his complaint): “But, *now* that we are an independent nation, that they should presume to *vomit upon our coasts, the desperadoes of St. Domingo*, is an insult and an outrage, which demand prompt reparation.”—The French people, lately arrived from St. Domingo, are people of the first respectability, both in point of character and fortune. They are no rebels; they faithfully adhered to their king, while their king reigned, and sooner than submit to the rule of his murderers, they abandoned their country for ever.—Far were they from being *forced* here by the British: they had their choice to go to any part of the British dominions, or to those of any neutral power. They chose the United States, chiefly because many of them had already sent a considerable part of their fortunes here before them. And these are the men, whom the vile WEBSTER compares to “*condemned convicts*,” and whom he complains Great-Britain has “*vomited on our coasts!*” Insolent wretch! there is not a white man, nor hardly a black man, amongst them, who would not be degraded by comparison with him.—If some of these gentlemen should happen to go to New-York, the pedant’s sallow hide may yet pay for his presumption.

After abusing these people in so outrageous a manner, the canting caitiff casts on them an eye of *pity*; but, this is done for the express purpose of introducing abuse on *Great Britain*, still more outrageous. He says it “*is inhuman and savage in her, thus to abandon them to their fate.*”—I have before observed, that they had their *choice* with respect to the place where they would go to. Their passage was paid by the British Government, and an armed vessel sent to defend them against the cut-throat republicans; and, besides this, if they had not been received in the United States, the

British Minister stood ready to hire other vessels, and send them to any part of His Majesty's dominions that they chose to go to. Was this *abandoning* them? I fancy NOAH would like very well to be *abandoned* in the same manner, with the fortune of one of the *abandoned* persons in his pocket.

But, we perceive, that all this is nothing more than an introduction to an attack on the general character of the British nation, which, he says, *constantly abandoned her friends in this country, during the last war*, and he has the impudence to call her "*a faithless and corrupted nation*," and to ask, if "*any man can recollect an instance of her fulfilling her proffered faith?*"—The rascal deserves to have a red-hot wire run through his tongue for this. As to his impudent question, I would reply to it by another, and that is: "*can any man recollect an instance wherein Great Britain failed to fulfil her promises to the very fullest extent?*"—With respect to her conduct towards the *American Loyalists*, that is a subject, which I thought an American *Whig* never would dare to touch upon. Her good faith, her generosity to those people ought, of itself, to render her the admiration of the world. She gained nothing by them; she was totally disappointed; she lost a considerable portion of her dominions, and involved herself in a debt of fearful amount. All the world looked upon her as ruined by the unfortunate contest; yet she scorned to let those suffer, who had remained faithful to her. They were paid for their losses to the last farthing, and, upon an average, they are, at this day, better off than they would have been, had they been *Whigs* in place of *Tories*. I here might (and the base attack on my country would fully justify me) compare the treatment the loyalists received from their King; I might compare the case of men, who were compensated for their losses to the

the last farthing, who had excellent lands in abundance bestowed on them, who were allowed tools to begin their labours with, and three years provisions to feed them, till their land should repay their industry; I might compare the lot of these people with that of those who fought the battles of the Congress, with that of the continental soldiers and other holders of *certificates* and *paper money*; but this, though I have ample provocation to do it myself, I shall leave to the pen of NOAH WEBSTER.

At a time when America sees herself deserted, despised, and insulted by all her *quondam friends*; When France is trampling upon her rights, robbing her in every quarter of the world, and when the ports of Spain and Holland are an ever open receptacle for her pillaged property and manacled seamen; and when, to all this, the conduct of Great Britain is so noble a contrast; when she is fulfilling her engagements with the most scrupulous good faith, voluntarily lending every species of aid and protection to the commerce of this country, and when she is, in short, the only power on earth, by whom these states have been, and are, treated with respect, and by whom they can be defended from the fleets of their foes; at a time like this, what must be thought of the rancorous rascal, who calls her "*a faithless and corrupted nation*," and who places her beneath the *savages* of America, and the *pirates* of Algiers?—Ought he not to be looked upon as an agent of France?—Ought he not to be detested by the people of this country? And, ought he not to be shunned as a viper by every native of the country on which he has attempted to cast such malicious and unprovoked slander?—Blasted be the *Briton*, who continues, after this, to give his custom, or his countenance to this defamer of our nation! Yet, there will be such. There

will be found rampant spaniel-like creatures, who will even crawl to the long-eared pedantic animal, and solicit another jerk from his insolent hoof.—There was a time when every Briton felt for Britain as for himself, made all her quarrels his own, and knew no other friends than the friends of his country; but, that time is past; the age of indifference and degeneracy has succeeded, and we now see Britons riding in the same coach, and dipping in the same dish, with those who openly defame their parents and their country, and who pray for their destruction.

The Editor of a little dirty paper, called the "*Baltimore Intelligencer*," abuses me most terribly; in the very same number, he has nearly three whole *sentimental* pages on the *cruelty* of hanging a poor fellow *for only robbing and shooting his own Father!*—By this shall ye know a full blooded democrat;—he will smile at the murder of the *innocent* by thousands, but the death of the thief or the murderer never fails to soften his heart. *Sympathy* is a very powerful passion.—Such is the democratic antipathy to a *gallows*, that I have often observed the caitiffs, when they come near a tavern that has a gibbeted sign, slink along on the opposite side of the way, though at the same time famishing with drought.

So much for the "*Baltimore Intelligencer*."

I have read MR. HOPKINSON'S address to the volunteers, and I think MR. HOPKINSON is a fine young man; he is a firm friend to the government and to his country, and, in spite of family connections and every other temptation to the contrary, he has constantly borne his testimony against the infernal principles of the Jacobins.—But, all this will not induce me to overlook the *extreme vanity* of his

his *quoting a line from his own song*, nor to approve of his *presumption* (to give it the mildest term) in stigmatizing the whole European world as governed by "*corrupted systems of policy*."—That part of the oration where he pledges *himself*, &c. &c. might have sounded well from *General Washington*; but I was very sorry to hear it from Mr. H.

Female Toasting.—"After the usual celebration of the 4th of July, at Middletown, Connecticut, the ladies also, animated with the spirit of patriotism, and desirous to give a proof of their attachment to the cause of their country, convened in the afternoon, in the grove belonging to Capt. G. Starr, where a cold collation was provided for them, and the following truly patriotic toasts were given :

"1st. The United States—May their sons ever continue brave and free, and their daughters virtuous and fair.

"2d. Mrs. Adams—May she offer to the fair of America, a model of imitation worthy the virtues of the President of the United States.

"3d. Mrs. Washington—May we in her ever recall to mind the valour, patriotism, and magnanimity of the hero who conducted us to freedom.

"4th. Valour and Patriotism—May they ever be united, and their joint efforts protect us from the yoke of foreign domination.

"5th. The Volunteers of America—May the spirit which animates them in the cause of freedom, incite them to actions worthy of the principle which actuates them.

"6th. The Daughters of America—May their ap-
plausive smiles reward the patriotic youth who step
forward

forward in defence of their country, and their frowns appal the traitor or coward who dares to betray or desert it.

“A number of gentlemen having joined them, they afterwards formed themselves into a procession, conducted by the two eldest of the ladies present, and followed by the gentlemen, proceeded through the principal street, to a liberty tree erected near the church, displaying a board, representing a divided serpent, on the point of being devoured by a dragon, with this motto: “Unite or Die.” The sight of this device, though in some places nearly effaced by time, recalled forcibly to every mind the glorious era of 76; when the same board was first displayed. Such examples are truly worthy of imitation; when the fair exhibit such a spirit in their country’s cause, who that is not a recreant, but would blush to remain inactive.”

I don’t like this. It is too much in the bacchanalian style. When a woman has swallowed *six glasses* of good Madeira, she is fit for—*any thing*.—The meeting *in the Grove* too is another bacchannalian trait; and then, when they were got *warm*, being *joined by a number of gentlemen* seems to complete the affair. I remember nothing like it in any civilized country, either in ancient or modern times. CHAUCER tells us of companies of knights and damsels meeting in the woods and on the lawns, for various purposes; but never did the ladies of those gailant times preface the business by a *drinking bout*. I am persuaded, that neither MRS. ADAMS, nor MRS. WASHINGTON will feel themselves much honoured by the clumsy compliments of these topping dames, whose ridiculous behaviour on this occasion, will, I am sure, never meet with the approbation of any sensible man, nor of any modest and sober woman.

NOAH

NOAH WEBSTER.

“ And e'en in penance planning sins anew.”

POPE.

My readers saw, some few days ago, a very striking instance of the malicious disposition of this despicable creature, in an infamous paragraph which I quoted from his paper. I have now to tell them, and I do it with great pleasure, that that paragraph produced a *proper* effect at New York; that is, it produced a *very considerable reduction in the number of poor Noah's subscribers*. The wretch, who was deaf to the voice of truth and justice, listened to that of *interest*. He was alarmed at the influx of those who wished to be relieved from his trash; and the next day, he made a poor shuffling excuse. This did not, however, answer his purpose, he therefore recommenced his atrocious slander, before the *penitent* confession of his sins was hardly washed from his lips.

This new slander he introduces by an essay on the “savage violence of party spirit.” After paying a sort of left handed compliment to the *people* of England, in the true French style, he proceeds as follows.

“ *It is said the government is wicked and tyrannical. This is in a degree, true; but a man must be an idiot to suppose a French invasion will remedy the evil. If the English should resist successfully the attempts of France, that success must be purchased with infinite blood, treasure, and public and private miseries. If France should conquer, the misery of the inhabitants would be intolerable.—The island would be in part abandoned—and the people*

people that should remain would lose their industry and arts—capital and industry would vanish—and England would be little better than a sand heap. To this country, as well as to Europe in general, such an event would be a fatal catastrophe and barbarous must be the man who can wish for it.

“There is no one point in which men are so much deceived as in supposing that *revenge* is *satisfaction*. It replaces no loss of property—it indemnifies for no loss of happiness—It is impossible for an American to read the Cannibal’s Progress, published by Porcupine, without emotions of horror. That wretch, however, should have been the last to publish in this country, the horrid accounts of the French barbarities in Germany, because it calls to recollection similar cruelties perpetrated in our country by his fellow soldiers—the violations of women—the murder of Mr. Caldwell and lady, and the hecatombs of Americans that perished in the Jersey prison ship.

“But whatever may have been the conduct of one nation or another, it is barbarous and savage to wish to see similar cruelties committed, even on the perpetrators. No man of one spark of humanity can desire to see one nation, whose soldiers have been guilty of such outrages, delivered over to similar calamities, for in the first place it is rare indeed that the guilty persons can be found and punished—the evil usually falls on the innocent. In the second place, the sufferings of a nation by way of revenge never atone for the evils intended to be revenged. There can be no reimbursement for pain. The original evil remains in all its force; revenge may double the miseries of life, but never can alleviate them.

“The wish and the endeavour of a good citizen, is to put a stop to evils—not to revenge them.”

Thus,

Thus, you see, the spiteful viper's great object is, *to keep alive a hatred against Great Britain.*—These paragraphs of his drew forth the following in *the New York Gazette*.

“ *Messrs. McLean and Long,*

“ It is the request of a number of citizens, that you publish the enclosed to morrow.

“ Several very ill-timed pieces, having lately appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, with reflections upon a nation with whom we are connected by a friendly treaty, and both countries being assailed by the same *unjust, ferocious and implacable enemy*, render every thing of the kind, if not *wicked*, at least *imprudent*. Here rebuke should have stopped; but, upon reading that paper of last evening, a FALSEHOOD was advanced, which loudly calls for investigation; it says,

“ It is impossible for an American to read the *Cannibal's Progress*, published by Porcupine, without emotions of horror: That wretch, however, should have been the last to publish in this country, the horrid accounts of the French barbarities in Germany, because it calls to recollection similar cruelties perpetrated in our country by his fellow soldiers—the violations of women, the murder of Mr. Caldwell and lady, and the hecatombs of Americans, that perished in the Jersey prison ship.”

“ Now, this assertion is a *direct perversion of the truth*, and in testimony whereof take the following extracts, without any comment, leaving Mr. Webster to the dissection of Porcupine himself.

“ *Elizabeth Town, June 20, 1780.*

“ Mrs. Caldwell had the misfortune to be shot by a random ball. What heightens the singularity of this lady's unhappy fate, is, that upon enquiry,
it

it appears beyond a doubt, the shot was fired by the Americans themselves, as it entered the side of the house from their direction, and lodged in the wall nearest to the troops then advancing."

" *New York, Nov. 28, 1781.*

" Last Saturday, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, minister of the dissenting congregation at Elizabeth Town, was shot dead, without any provocation, at the point, by one of the American twelve month's men. The Coroner's inquest brought a verdict of wilful murder against him."

" If this authority should be questioned by the editor of the Commercial Advertiser, hundreds of itizens can attest the fact.

" CANDIDUS."

CANDIDUS is very kind' in leaving NOAH to my *dissection*. Why had he not gone through the stinking job himself?—With respect to the British army committing "cruelties *similar* to those recorded in the *Cannibal's Progress*," the charge is so false, so calumnious and infamous, as to merit universal execration. *When* and *where* did the "violations of women" take place, by the *British* soldiers? Who were these women? The whole is a lie, hatched by Webster, and wretches like himself.—The affair of Mr. Caldwell and his wife is placed in the true light by CANDIDUS; and, as for the tale about the *Jersey Prison Ship*, it was once a popular, but is now an exploded LIE.

A base creature (NOAH himself, I dare say) in the New York Gazette of yesterday, publishes a contradiction to CANDIDUS, from GORDON's History of the American War. What did GORDON know about the matter? Was he on the spot? Was he not a vile, vicious Calvinist, who wrote to humour a disaffected SECT in Great Britain, and who sought

sought for nothing but accusations against the British government and the British army. When the people of America will allow BACHE to be quoted for facts relative to the conduct of the Federal Government, then will I abide by what GORDON says of the conduct of the British army.

But here Webster and his clan play a very deep as well as a very cowardly game. They know I could *retaliate* most amply; they know there are *other sources* to be resorted to besides RAMSEY and GORDON; but they know, that to have recourse to them, to publish *a constant catalogue of crimes*, would be to expose the publisher to every thing that can be conceived hostile to his interests and to his cause. To draw me into details of this sort is one of NOAH's principal objects; but he will fail; for though I do not fear to fight such a cock on his own dunghill, the triumph over him in a like conflict, would be a gratification to the French faction, of whose interests he is a disguised promoter.

The more I see of NOAH's conduct at this critical juncture, the more I am convinced that he is a tool in the service of sans-culottism. He cries aloud sometimes against the French; but, he takes good care to endeavour to *damp the spirit of the country*, to espouse every measure of *delay*, to sow the seeds of discord, by reviving that old term of reproach *Tory*, and to produce a breach, if possible, with Great Britain, by abusing her government, reviling her maritime commanders, and calling her king "*little better than an idiot*."—What can France desire more, in the most zealous and costly of her partisans? An *undisguised* tool cannot serve her half so effectually. Few persons, except those who are totally devoted to France, will listen to BACHE or GREENLEAF; whereas NOAH may, and does, obtain a hearing, and makes many *converts* to the cause. In the manufactory of Sans Culottes,

NOAH

NOAH is the first artizan ; he takes them in the rough material and shapens them to the hand of BACHE, GREENLEAF, &c. who finish them off, and send them into the world fit for service.

From Brown's Paper.—" When we view the
 " decline of the French interest in this country,
 " and the rapid progress AMERICANISM is
 " making—When we see *party spirit* receding, and
 " *public spirit* stepping forward, in the most for-
 " midable phalanxes—When we contemplate on
 " all this, must not the conclusion be, that Ame-
 " ricans are determined to preserve inviolate their
 " *Sovereignty*? That foreign influence of every
 " kind is fast hastening to an exit? And that we are
 " resolved to support our *National Dignity*, at the
 " risk of our fortunes, our lives, and of every
 " tender connection?"

When Brown was enumerating the signs of this happy change, how came he to omit mentioning *his own paper*?—" When," he might have said, " we see this very gazette, the leaves of which I am now blackening, tack about like the French at the sight of the British flag, or like a democrat at the sight of a constable ; when we see this same vehicle, which, but a very little while ago, sang the praises of the French, justified all their perfidiousness, cruelty, and impiety ; which put M^{ARAT} upon a level with J^{ESUS} C^HRIST, which laid aside the word "*Federal*," as a garment growing out of fashion, and which, but the other day, espoused the cause of Israel Israel, and libelled the committee of the Senate who annulled his election ; when we see a gazette like this joining in the cry *against the French and their faction*, it is a certain proof, that—the *chink is no longer to be gotten by siding with them.*"—All this

BROWN

BROWN might have said, without being chargeable with vanity or exaggeration ; and, if his false modesty prevents him from doing himself justice, there is so much the more reason for his receiving it at the hands of his neighbours.

Another Extract from Brown.—‘ It must be grateful to the feelings of every friend to his country, to observe even *those who have long been in the habits of looking upon every proof of American worth with a jealous eye*, obliged notwithstanding, to render their tribute of applause to one of the greatest characters that this, or perhaps any other country has ever produced. The authors of the *Analytical Review*, in their retrospect of the active world for the year 1796, thus express themselves :—

‘ This year GENERAL WASHINGTON, the greatest of cotemporary men, as Catharine was of cotemporary sovereigns, resigned the presidency of the American States. Having rescued his country from the *tyranny of the English government*, and restored it, by a commercial treaty, to an amicable connection with the British nation, he voluntarily retired from power, after giving the most profound instruction and advice respecting Union, Virtue, Liberty and Happiness, between all of which there was a close connection, with the most ardent prayers for the prosperity and peace of America. There is nothing in profane history to which this sublime address can be compared. In our sacred scriptures we find a parallel in that recapitulation of the divine instructions and commands, which the legislator of the Jews made, in the hearing of Israel, when they were about to pass the Jordan.”

[See *Review* for Jan. 1797.]

The choice of this extract, with the introductory remark on it, is an instance, among thousands, that daily appear, of the gross ignorance that presides over the American press.—BROWN, poor innocent, knows nothing of the work from which the extract is taken; nay, I much question, if he knows what a REVIEW is, any further than that it is a pretty thick octavo pamphlet, within a blue cover. It is some soft-brained correspondent who has sent him this, without perceiving, I dare say, that instead of a panegyric on GENERAL WASHINGTON, it is really a most cruel libel on his character and his conduct.

He says, these Reviews “*have long been in the habit of looking upon every proof of American worth with a jealous eye,*”—Who told him this lie? They are a set of factious sectarians, *republicans* in principle, and, of course, enemies of the British Monarchy, though born and bred under its fostering wings. They have uniformly espoused the cause of France, against their own country, and, *since the French have openly discovered their hostility to America*, these very Reviewers have as uniformly espoused the French cause against her also. They are a set of scoundrels sold to France, at present; and their sole object is to destroy the Church and State in Great Britain.—*They*, jealous of American worth!—On the contrary, they ever have, till lately, sung the praises of the Americans, and their government; not because they loved, or admired either; but merely because the former had overturned the British government in this country, and had raised the latter on its ruins.

“Having rescued his country from the TYRANNY “*of the British Government.*”—It was to introduce this vile slander on the British Government, that they undertook an eulogy on General Washington and his farewell address; and Brown’s correspondent

dent will excuse me, if I think, that it was with a view equally malicious, though not quite so unnatural, that he conveyed the extract to this stupid news-monger.

Boston, July 12.

French Barbarity unequalled.—Mr. Samuel Prince who arrived in town yesterday from Basseterre (Guad.) via Salem, has communicated the following particulars of a transaction, which must rouse the indignation, and interest the feelings of every American.

Capt. Ebenezer Smith, of the armed ship Hunter of this place, bound for Martinique, in lat. 14, 38, fell in with a French privateer schooner of 8 guns and 80 men, who after hailing Capt. S. and demanding him to come on board with his papers, was replied by Capt. S. that he was willing to see them on board and exhibit his papers; but that he was engaged in a lawful trade, and being armed would suffer no other interruption.

The privateer then immediately fired, and repeated it both with cannon and musquetry, until she got nearly abreast of the ship, when, unfortunately, at the moment Capt. Smith was giving orders to point the guns and fire into the privateer, which was executed in part with effect, he was wounded in the groin, and fell to the deck; this unhappy circumstance created confusion on board the ship, the helmsman quitted his station, the vessel fell off, and the privateer instantly laid along side and boarded: previous to this Mr. Stafford the boatswain was killed, the mate and Mr. David Bradlee a passenger wounded.

Here commenced a scene, which would have disgraced savages. Capt. Smith, wounded as he was, lying bleeding in the passage way, was assaulted,

and received more than twenty stabs and cuts in his breast, back, sides and arms. Young Bradlee having discharged a blunderbuss and killed one of the officers on board the privateer, was probably marked out as a victim; *those monsters cut him into pieces, and threw them overboard.* They also cut and wounded Mr. Prince who was a passenger on board. A son of Capt. Smith's about 13 years old, being found in one of the state rooms, was dragged out; and while the poor lad had his hands over his head, to guard it in some measure from the blows which were aimed to dispatch him, had them cut in a shocking manner.

Detested and detestable as are Frenchmen, we would not exaggerate one iota of this infernal business, Mr. Samuel Prince, and Capt. Smith's son, are present, and can be seen.

Captain Smith is a remarkable benevolent man; has been uncommonly attentive to unfortunate Frenchmen. We sympathize with his numerous friends and acquaintance; and hope he may survive his wounds, and return to his family and country.

Think of these things, ye flint-nerved Jacobins, and luke-worm patriots, and blush!

Cockade.—Bostonians, your townsmen have been massacred by the ferocious French—*Smith, Bradley,* and others, have received more than savage treatment—The cannibals upon the Northwest coast have been outdone in cruelty by the French savages. Let us swear to revenge the massacre of our townsmen. Federalists, **HOIST THE COCKADE**; move in union; distinguish your enemies from your friends; give to the Jacobins the treatment which the *Old Tories* so justly merited and received. You shall hear from me again.

JOICE TERTIUS.

One

One word to JOICE TERTIUS. The "Old Tories" never were the cause of the connection between France and America; nor did they ever rejoice at the successes of France; nor are there any of them to be found amongst that infernal French faction, who now shakes these States to their very centre.—It was the well-founded apprehension of the dangers attendant on the connection with France, that made many thousand Tories, who would not otherwise have been so.—To conclude, at a time when government stands in need of every friend that it can obtain, it is extremely imprudent, to say the best of it, to endeavour to disgust a description of persons who are more universally and sincerely attached to it than those of any other description whatever.

Civic Fête.—We have had many of these patriotic entertainments in America, since the year 1793; but I do not recollect any one, in which the characters were so appropriate, the parts so well acted, and the whole ceremony so analogous to the occasion, as at the late celebration of the French Fête of the 14th of July, in the borough of HARRISBURGH, Pennsylvania.

Early in the morning, even at the crowing of the cock, the anxious democrats arose, and, taking their leave of the bugs and fleas, repaired, in little knots, to the place appointed for their assembling, which was exactly opposite the castle of democracy, vulgarly called *the jail*. Here they waited, with no small degree of impatience, for the appearance of two of their distinguished brethren, who were to furnish the entertainment of the festive day. After a while, the castle doors flew open, and the two accomplished brothers came forth, each having on

his head *a cap of liberty*, (but by mistake, its colour was *white*) and round his neck, a *handkerchief*, very much resembling the belt of a Cordelier friar, one corner of which hung almost down to his shoes. They walked, like two philosophers, with their eyes nailed to the ground, and their hands behind them. So anxious were they to observe this last-mentioned singularity, that they had ordered their attendants to tie their hands in this awkward position, and they were absolutely tied with cords.

In this posture, and in this *costume*, they both mounted into a *charette*, a vehicle very much resembling a cart, which being placed at the head, the procession moved on, with slow pace, and solemn music, towards the altar of *equality*, which had been erected for the purpose, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the town. It was of very simple construction, consisting of two perpendicular posts, placed at about eight feet from each other, exactly of *equal* height, and having a bar going from the top of one to the top of the other, as thus :



Arrived

Arrived here, the cart moved under the bar, and the two adepts began to prepare for the exhibition of the great and inevitable consummation of democracy. After much very edifying advice to the audience, the master of the ceremonies tied the long corner of each of their cravats round the bar; the cart moved on, and left them in a situation, to which they had all their lives been aspiring, and at which, it is devoutly to be wished, every one of their brethren will arrive.

I have to-day seen a sight, almost as delightful to my eyes, as would be that of my parents, and that is, THE FRENCH FLAG HANGING REVERSED UNDER THAT OF AMERICA!—Thus, it is now exhibited in the Delaware, opposite the houses of those merchants, and amidst those sailors, who have been so long the sport of the rapacity and savageness of the cut-throat carmagnoles.—My God! how must the insolent despots of Paris be stung when they hear of this!

From the New York Gazette.—Gentlemen, I was in the belief, that the scurrilous-abuse of the calumniators of Great Britain, would have been confined in the channel of the *Commercial Advertiser*, but, I acknowledge myself disappointed, when I see productions of the same nature get admittance into your paper; I here allude to a piece of Monday, under the signature of “a real American.”

From its stupidity, it should have passed unnoticed; but, the malignant spirit with which it breathes, requires some animadversions.

This author “presumes that my intention in rebuking WEBSTER, was, least his reflections might

impede the *conclusion* of a treaty with Great Britain, offensive and defensive."

This would imply, that such a treaty had been either in agitation, or contemplation; but if such a thing has been, or is to be, it lies not within the reach of my knowledge:—your correspondent seems to dread an event of this kind. However, I will ease his mind by a conjecture of my own; that is, as Great Britain has, for three hundred years past, been *so bit*, and yet *so sore* with *offensive* and *defensive connections*, it is not likely she will venture into an alliance with *any* power whatever.

I hope, however, that she will see it her *interest* (with our own exertions) to protect us against the common enemy of mankind,—the ambitious, bloody and implacable French.

This *real American*, as he calls himself, blames me for saying, that the assertion in the *Commercial Advertiser*, is a *direct perversion* of the truth. Gracious God! is it not? He does not even himself pretend to deny, that the *manner* and *cause* of the death of Mr. Caldwell, call it murder, or what you will, was accomplished by a shot from the musket of a *Centinel in the American army*—every body knows it, and *Webster is the only person* I ever heard fix it on the British.

Your correspondent brings forward Gordon as his oracle, to prove that Mrs. Caldwell was killed by the English—a good and faithful historian refers you to his authorities, but this fellow gives you no more than his own *ipse dixit*; and I would as soon appeal to his record for either sense or truth, as consult the vapid page of *Doctor Webster*, for a recipe to cure the yellow fever. The truth is, Mrs. Caldwell was killed by a random shot, and understood to have come from the American side—the ball went through the house, and not from a soldier within, as asserted by Gordon. This is not
only

only general oral communication, but information I received from a gentleman of known honour and veracity, who was on the spot at the time; indeed the lady's connections, I am told, confirm the same account.

The *real American* asks from what authority I took the extracts. I then have to tell him, they were taken *verbatim & literatim*, from New-York papers of the dates which are affixed to them. But were I to admit (which I never shall do) that the British really had committed the cruelties laid to their charge; such things we know are often inseparable from a state of civil warfare, and what the best regulated and disciplined armies cannot always avoid. But let me ask a few questions.

Should the dire and malignant spirit of resentment never sleep? Can rancour, and reviling, recal the flight of time, or reanimate the dead? Can forcing recollection, and remembrance upon the mind, ease the painful feelings of surviving friends and relations? What then can Mr. Webster, and your correspondent mean, by conjuring up evils that never *did* exist; or, if they *did* exist, were now forgotten? Is it to palliate the horrid cruelties of the French? Is it to inspire revenge against a set of men with whom we are, and indeed ought to be, in friendship? If these are their motives, they are only such as should be cherished and avowed by Democrats and Devils.

CANDIDUS.

Who can read this without execrating the wretch WEBSTER? Thank God, he has got his match, at any rate.—We are no longer to be slandered by such rancorous villains, without resenting the abominable outrage.—The voice of America cries shame on the miscreants.

Noah

Noah Webster.—I ought to beg pardon of my readers, for so often taking up their time with this contemptible creature; but the last instance of his meanness and malice, forms too appropriate a sequel to his former conduct, not to be noticed in this gazette, which, whatever may be its merits in other respects, is certainly entitled to public thanks, for having pulled the mask from the phiz of this political hypocrite.

The slander, as spiteful as unprovoked, which he has, for a long time past, been in the habit of pouring out on the *British nation*, at last disgusted his readers to such a degree, that great numbers of them withdrew their subscriptions. This circumstance brought from him the following letter, addressed to——whom, think you? Why, to *his partner*!!—There was but another small step wanting, to render the farce complete,—he should have addressed it *to himself*. Here it is.

“ Mr. Hopkins, I understand that a paragraph or two in the Commercial Advertiser, have occasioned some resentment among English gentlemen and their particular friends, and that *a few of them* have discontinued their papers, and others threatened to do the same. As all such menaces are considered as unwarrantable attempts to influence and control an independent *American* press, you will not only discontinue the papers requested, but those of subscribers who *threaten* to withdraw their names, and never to permit them to renew their subscriptions.

“ *I have never written, uttered, or published a disrespectful word, concerning the British nation;* and, I understand, that the communication which has occasioned such a resentment, was inserted by you, on a cursory reading, without advertng to its calumny. I regret this, because its contents
are

are not true, and nothing gives me more pain, than to see a misrepresentation in the paper. I have ever considered the British government as having been remarkably attentive to the royalists who put themselves under its protection, and as having made them most liberal indemnification for their losses. Nor is it true, that the *nation* is *faithless*, as the paragraph asserts. It is not true of any *nation*. The mass of people, in all countries, occupied in their work-shops, their counting houses, and on their farms, are honest and virtuous.

“ I know no disposition in this country, among the friends of our government, to open the wounds inflicted by our revolution war, unless it is excited by the unmerited slander and calumny which continually issues from the press of Porcupine, against many of the most respectable American citizens, and the best supporters of our government. If any hostile feelings exist against the English, it is principally owing to the countenance they give to that scurrility—and it is very possible, that it may raise a ferment which will not be easily extinguished.—But you will be careful to avoid inserting illiberal reflections *personal* and *national*; at the same time, to resent, with becoming spirit, any attempts to control the freedom of the press.

“ NOAH WEBSTER, jun.”

There are three distinguishing features in this address, *rancour*, *impudent falsehood*, and *baseness*, of which it is difficult to point out the most prominent.

In the two offensive publications, which gave rise to this penitent letter, Great Britain was abused merely for the sake of belying and abusing me: the same malignant disposition is evident in this. The wretch is viper enough to hint, that, unless I abstain from attacking him and his clan, “ the wounds

wounds inflicted by the revolution," shall be again torn open ! Is not this candid ? When did I make the vile slander that has been heaped on *me*, an excuse for attacking the people of America ? Poor, impotent wretch ! Does he imagine that I am to be deterred from censuring him, from answering his atrocious slander, lest those wounds should be opened afresh ? Let them be opened. I have no fear of the issue. I am far from wishing to *begin* : I always avoid it with extreme care ; but I am not to stand by and hear the country that gave me birth, calumniated, and hold my tongue, lest NOAH WEBSTER should revive the History of the American Revolution, and tell certain hobgoblin lies of the British army. Let him begin : he shall proceed without interruption from me ; for, I repeat, again and again, he shall never draw me into a quarrel with *the people of America*. This is what he wants to do, and this he shall never accomplish.

" I have never written, uttered, or *published*, a " disrespectful word concerning the British nation."—Mean, shuffling fellow ! Was it not disrespectful to compare the British army to the heroes of the " CANNIBAL'S PROGRESS," and to quote, as an instance, one of the most scandalous and abominable falsehoods that ever was put on paper by a partial historian ? Was it not disrespectful to say, that the British government was "*oppressive and tyrannical* ?" Was it not disrespectful to lump the King of Great Britain amongst the *idiot* princes of Europe ?—No, no ; WEBSTER gets rid of all this, and ten times more that he has said on the government of Great Britain, executive and legislative, civil and military ; he shuffles out of all, by saying that he never slandered the "*nation*," that is, "*the mass of the people*." This is a true French

French distinction ; a separation of *the government* from *the people*." But, wretch, wretch, are not the army and navy composed of Britons ? are not the parliament and the ministry also composed of Britons ? and is not the King a Briton ? And in abusing all these, all that gives union, strength, activity, character, consequence, and even existence to the British nation ; in abusing and vilifying all these, do you not, I say, abuse the *British nation* ? Like a true French philosopher, the object of your praises is, "the mass of the people in all countries, "occupied in their workshops, their counting "houses, and on their farms." *These are all virtuous and honest*. In one of your late insolent attacks on the British nation, you graciously condescended to allow, that "amongst the *citizens* in the "heart of the country, there is as much *hospitality* as "is to be found any where." Who told you so, you demagogue coxcomb ? And who told you to call the subjects of the King of Great Britain *citizens* ? Go ; only go to the little parish where I was born, and call my old playmates *citizens*, and see how soon they will *hospitably* furnish you with a pair of black eyes or a cross-buttock. *They*, thank Heaven ! are yet uncorrupted by your new fangled cant.

WEBSTER, do you know what the close of the last paragraph has put me in mind of ? Why, I was thinking, how the rustics in my country would stare, if I were to take you home, just as you stand, and tell them that you are a 'SQUIRE. I absolutely would give fifty pounds to have you as a show for three months ; for, you must know, the 'SQUIRES in my country bear no earthly resemblance to you. I am confident, *hospitable* as they are, you would not get admittance to dine even with their footmen, unless your *medical* abilities might ingratiate you with some of the *unfortunate* members of this party-coloured tribe.

After this digression, let us return to the penitent letter.

letter.—It is the first instance, I believe, of a man's setting down and gravely giving the lie to his own publications. Not indirectly, or by way of apology, but by directly and flatly contradicting himself; disputing with himself, point by point, and finally proving himself to be a most gross calumniator, a great fool, and a barefaced liar.—As to the silly puff about supporting the *freedom of the press*, it is too palpable, too contemptible to bestow a laugh on.

Amidst all this, what a precious figure Mr. HOPKINS cuts ! Poor devil ! To be toad-eater to NOAH WEBSTER, jun. Esq. is, I think, a blessed birth indeed ! The types that such a man handles must be impregnated with baseness. I should think that his touch would convert gold into copper, or even into lead.—And is it for such creatures as these to talk of supporting “the freedom of an American press”.—I turn from them with loathing, and beg pardon of my readers for so long detaining their attention on objects so disgusting.

The following letter will speak for itself, and will, doubtless, be attentively compared with WEBSTER'S penitential letter, on which I have commented in this day's Gazette. The letter was received by this day's mail, and the author's NAME, is, as he states, in my possession.

“MR. COBBETT,

“When wilful falsehoods are maliciously published, defaming the character of a brave and generous nation, for the purpose (to give it the best construction) of gratifying the spleen of an individual, it becomes the duty of every friend to truth and justice, as far as lays in his power, to remove the injurious impression.

“Though .

“ Though extremely averse to political disputes, those reasons compel me to assert (in contradiction to Mr. Webster’s repeated publications) that to my certain knowledge the British had no concern whatever in the death of the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, and that he was actually shot by an American sentinel or soldier, at Elizabeth Town Point, attempting to take a parcel of tea on shore from a flag of truce.

“ The publication of this falsehood respecting Mr. Caldwell’s death is perhaps more extensive than you are apprized of. In Mr. Webster’s *American Selection of Lessons to improve the minds and refine the taste of youth*, as also to instruct them in *History and Politics*, page 130, he informs the rising generation, that “ in the summer of 1780, “ the British troops made frequent incursions “ from New York into the Jerseys, ravaging and “ plundering the country. In some of these descents, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, a respectable “ clergyman, and warm patriot, and his lady, “ were inhumanely murdered by the savage soldiery.” How far this may refine the taste of the American youth, is not at present the question ; it is more in point to inquire, whether such publications, dictated under the influence of prejudice and ignorance, is likely to improve their minds, or make them sound politicians.

“ The remoteness of my situation, and the busy occupation of a farmer, prevented me observing those late publications of Mr. Webster, and giving you this information sooner. You are at liberty to give my name to any person who has a right to demand it ; for the same purpose, it is left at Messrs. M’Lean and Lang’s, and though an entire stranger to you and Mr. Webster, it is known to most of the gentlemen of New-York.

July 18. “ A FARMER OF WESTCHESTER.”

[N.B.]

Now then, let any man say whether WEBSTER is not himself the author of those calumnies, which he wishes to throw on a CORRESPONDENT; and whether his constant study has not been to revive and perpetuate a hatred of the BRITISH NATION.—If there be a Briton base enough to encourage such a wretch, he deserves to be kicked by every negro in the country.

POOR NOAH WEBSTER.

“ New York, July 6, 1798.

“ SIR,

“ I have to request that you do not trouble yourself with sending me your paper any longer.

“ Unmerited and ill founded abuse of Great Britain I can read enough of in the *Argus* and *Time Piece*, without having recourse to the Commercial Advertiser.

“ Your account will be paid when sent in and I remain, Sir, Yours, &c.

“ MR. N. WEBSTER.”

ANSWER.

“ Newhaven, July 6th, 1798.

“ SIR,

“ The enclosed letter is returned—it does not belong to me.

“ The paragraph which has offended you, I think very censurable; and I know Mr. Hopkins well enough to affirm, that he suffered it to be inserted without attending to the abuse it contained.

“ A news-

“ A newspaper is common property, in which *all parties* claim a right to utter their *venom*; and although I should not have admitted the paragraph you complain of, had I been present, yet, under the most prudent management of the paper, I found myself exposed to so many personal indignities, from different parties, that retirement was essential to my happiness, if not to my *life*. I found in more instances than one, that my best endeavours to please those whose esteem I valued, gave offence. To a GENTLEMAN of my education, and standing in society, this treatment became intolerable—It wounded me to the soul, that the *purest motives* were often misinterpreted into the basest designs; the worst possible construction was put on paragraphs; articles and opinions laid to my charge, which were easily known to come from other quarters; and any little mistake was laid hold of to injure my feelings, and as *an excuse for exercising revenge, by discontinuing papers*. A property of this kind is hardly worth the purchase, and in the collision of hostile passions in our country, few men of honour and feeling can consent to take charge of public papers—they must generally be superintended by men who are callous.

“ The Commercial Advertiser is the medium through which I communicate my opinions on political and literary subjects, and its general tenor is highly agreeable to the sound part of my fellow citizens, whether natives or foreigners. Its character will continue the same, though I sometimes find in it sentiments of others not altogether agreeable to my own views of things.

“ Men who take offence at paragraphs which do not please them, and who withdraw their subscriptions, for *incidental errors*, when the usual tenor of a paper is good, are not desirable as subscribers. The candid citizen will *inquire*, before he takes a

decisive step. Your letter gives me no pain, nor can it have the least influence on my conduct.

"I remain, Sir, Yours, &c.

"N. WEBSTER, jun."

ANSWER.

"*New-York, July 14, 1798.*

"SIR,

"Your very rude and extraordinary letter, in which, instead of a modest apology for yourself, you impute very unworthy motives to me, for having discontinued my subscription to your paper, I take no other notice of, than sending to your friend Peter Porcupine for publication.

"When a man is publicly boasting of "*his education,*" his "*standing in society,*" and the "*delicacy of his feelings,*" it is a duty every one owes to the world, to expose his rudeness and vanity in their proper colours.

"I remain, Sir, Yours, &c.

"Mr. NOAH WEBSTER, jun."

Now, I ask the reader whether he ever, in all his life time, met with any thing so shamefully vain as this letter of Webster. Never did I see even an illiterate, empty headed military fop, exhibit such a total want of modesty. In all the ridiculous personages, whether in romances or plays; in all the bombastical egotism of pedant *Partridge* and bully *Bluff* we find nothing that is not distanced many a rood by "A GENTLEMAN of my educa-

"*tio*

"*tion and* STANDING IN SOCIETY !" Were FIELD-ING and CONGREVE to rise from the tomb, they must blush to see their two famous caricatures far surpassed in the real portrait of a single republican of this our *enlightened age*.—I have often heard of instances of WEBSTER's impudent vanity.—Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, some years ago, a quack, pretty near as vain as himself, met him in the street: "I congratulate you, Sir," said the quack, "upon your appointment to a preceptorship in our university."—"You may, if you please," replied the conceited coxcomb, "*congratulate the university upon my condescending to accept of the appointment!*"—This was so far beyond every thing, of which I had ever formed a conception, that I looked upon it as a mere story; but even this, hateful as it is, is greatly outdone by the disgusting, nauseous, loathsome expressions in the above letter.

Were this man indeed distinguished as being descended from a famous race, for great learning and talents, for important public services, for possessing much weight in the opinions of the people, even then his vanity would be inexcusable; but the fellow is distinguished, amongst the few who know him, for the very contrary of all this. He comes of obscure parents, he has just learning enough to make him a fool, his public services have all been confined to silly, idle *projects*, every one of which has completely failed, and as to his weight as a politician, it is that of a feather, which is overbalanced by a straw, and puffed away by the gentlest breath. All his measures are exploded, his predictions have proved false, not a single sentiment of his has become fashionable, nor has the Federal Government ever adopted a single measure which he has been in the habit of recommending.—And this is the inflated fop, whose tender

feelings are injured, and whose *life* is endangered, because *all parties* were not willing, alternately, to submit in silence to his haughty and insolent treatment !

One would imagine, on reading NOAH's complaint, that he had been the *first attacked* ; whereas exactly the contrary is the truth. He has been the *aggressor* on every occasion. He attacked me in a most uncandid, rude, and malicious manner, just seventeen days after my gazette commenced, and with the evident intention of doing me a most deadly injury. I silenced him, though he foretold that, in such a contest, I "*must be the loser.*" He has begun again, time after time, and always has made his attack in the most base and insidious way. He has never failed to hold me up as a *hireling of Great Britain* (though the vindictive wretch is well convinced that I am not so), and thus, to endeavour to undermine, what he sees he cannot knock down. His abuse of the *British nation* would, in any one, be abominable ; but it is more particularly so in him, who well knows, that the Federal government has no friends, more firm than those natives of Great Britain in general, who now reside here, and who, if I am not misinformed, generously enabled him to establish " a Federal paper," which the ingrate has converted into a vehicle, for pouring on their whole nation, the most villainous and unmerited abuse.—I am happy to see, that these gentlemen resent such usage, with becoming spirit. God forbid that I should ever let fall a word, tending again to open the breach between my native and my adopted country. With men who have been deceived, and who harbour an ill-grounded prejudice, I would *conciliate* ; but nothing in this way, ought to be attempted with the envious, rancorous, black-hearted enemies of Great Britain. No reason will ever sway their judgment, no kindness will gain their

their good-will. They delight in the indulgence of their hatred, and the only way to turn this, their fiend-like pleasure into pain, is, to treat them with scorn and contempt. There are, thank God, but few of this bitter tribe. Their number is too contemptible, to excite in the mind of a Briton, any thing like resentment, against *the people of America*; but, wherever a Briton meets with them, he should never forget to pay them back in their own coin; for, again and again, I repeat it, that vulgar and rancorous natures are never to be won by kindness and condescension. You may coax them to accept of your table, or your purse: like the curs of Castile, while you are feeding them, they will lie at your feet; but the moment the last morsel is out of your hands, they will repay your generosity with a snap.

As to WEBSTER's most silly excuses; his lame apology for his toad-eater HOPKINS; his paper being the "common property, in which *all parties* "claim a right to utter their venom," his whining complaint about being exposed to *indignities*; his talk about his *tender feelings*, and his saying, that a news-monger must be callous, while he, with all his *tender feelings*, signifies his resolution to continue in this *callous* profession, without any alteration in his conduct: all this together, is such a mixture of insolence and meanness, that one hardly knows how to treat the fellow with sufficient contempt. In every sentence, you perceive the sturdy beggar, who, in every breath that he solicits your pence, tells you, that he is a "GENTLEMAN;" and, if you refuse his request, concludes his harangue with saying, he does not care a d—n for you.

"MR. FENNO,

"It is remarked by the Editor of Porcupine's Gazette, that "it is thought by some weak per-

sons, that Great Britain would not stand by and see this country revolutionized." They must be *weak persons* indeed, and very ignorant of the spirit and resources of the United States, who place their hope of salvation from a revolution, in Great Britain, or any other foreign nation. We must rely on ourselves, and look only to each other, to preserve us from this dreadful catastrophe. Nations have no affections, and if they have, we have little to expect from Great Britain; and as to their interest, it is often a question of uncertain and capricious calculation, not always understood by themselves, and not at all to be relied on by another. For my own part, I expect no such assistance from Great Britain; nor do I feel that we shall want it. I have no idea that the power of this country is not fully adequate to the protection of its rights, and the preservation of its independence and government. I have no idea that it depends upon the good-will of Great Britain, whether we shall stand, or fall; or that the issue of our contest with France, is to be governed by the *policy, interests, or friendship* of Great Britain. Mr. Cobbett says, that he hopes Great Britain will not stand by, until the bloody flag waves over our towns; but a minister of Great Britain *would certainly see the thing in a different point of view*. Thanking him for his good wishes, I most freely declare, that I don't care a single cent in what point of view the British minister, or any other minister, would *view the thing*; nor will I believe that it depends in any degree upon him, or his nation, *how far the French are to be suffered to proceed* in destroying us. However, even C. thinks, "*he would not suffer the Sans-culottes to subjugate the whole country.*" Thank God, this is to be as *we please*, and not as Great Britain pleases. I do not say, whether, if we shall both be engaged in a war with the same enemy, a *fair, equal,*

equal, and independent war treaty, may not be formed between us, for *mutual* advantage and assistance. On this point, I give no opinion *as yet*."

At the first glance, this paragraph seems to owe its birth, merely to a plentiful stock of vanity, and as plentiful a lack of sense. But, though its countenance is marked with the bloat of self-conceit, and the broad stare of ignorance; yet, there lurks, underneath, a good deal of that cunning and spite, which are not unfrequently the companions of mental imbecility.

The objects of this writer of MR. FENNO's, are, 1st, to inculcate a belief, that *I have no reliance on the spirit or resources of America*. 2d, to draw me into such a reply to his monstrously absurd positions, as he, in a future publication, shall be able to twist into *a contempt of the fidelity and courage of the people of the United States*.

In his expectations he will be baffled; for, I have too firm a reliance on the *resources* and the *courage* of the people of America. To doubt of the former, would argue a total ignorance of the situation of the country, and to call the latter in question, would be to stigmatize my own race as cowards. But, though I know, that the means of the United States are great, and that their people are brave in the field, patient under hardships, and persevering under difficulties; it does not follow, that I ought to entertain *no apprehensions for their safety*. It does not follow, that I ought not to look upon about three or four millions of white people, clogged with half a million of slaves, and scattered over an extensive country, with an exposed coast of twelve hundred miles long, *as standing in need of maritime assistance*, against a numerous, an enterprising, a desperate, and ferocious foe. To have a *reasonable confidence* in one's own strength,

is a mark of a great mind ; but to bluster and brag, without a solid foundation for confidence, is a mark of a little, a weak, and even a pusillanimous mind, that will not acknowledge the existence of danger, because it is too slothful, or too timid to prepare to meet it.

It is not only my opinion ; it is the opinion of every reasonable man, that, without the co-operation of Great Britain, without *the aid of her fleet*, this country cannot make an effectual opposition to the forces, land and sea, that France is able to send against it, and particularly, if assisted by her faction, which still exists amongst us, in all its vigour. This opinion is daily and hourly gaining ground, in every part of the Union : several of the addresses to the President hint at it pretty broadly, and the PRESIDENT, in more than one of his answers, has explicitly declared, that the *British navy* is “the only remaining barrier against the power of France.” If any thing could add weight to an opinion coming from this quarter, I might quote the speeches of almost every *Federal* member of both Houses of Congress ; I could quote, besides, the declarations of the Envoys at Paris, who told the French Minister, that an attack on our coast by France, “would undoubtedly *closely connect* “the United States and Great Britain ;” and, if Mr. FENNO’s writer wanted still more, I could show him, that every *partisan of France*, every *enemy to the Federal Government*, has constantly endeavoured, like himself, to oppose the progress of this salutary opinion.

I do not, however, set the writer down as a devoted tool of France ; I rather think he wishes well to his country, and am not without my suspicions, that he has heretofore entertained, and even expressed, sentiments on this subject, perfectly conformable to my own ; and that he has now shaken off

off his apprehensions, and is grown bold, from the appearance of a retrograde movement in the affairs of France in Europe. He now imagines, that the French will give up their hostile intentions; that there will be no need of the aid of Great Britain; and he therefore hastens to assert, that that aid could never be needed. But, surely this is being over sanguine! Let me ask him how he would look, if he were awaked in his bed to-morrow morning, and told, that *France had made peace with Great Britain?* I know what effect such news would produce on every real friend of this country, but I am not quite certain that I ought to include him in that number.

Considering the confident assertions, contained in the former part of the paragraph, the writer's conclusion is somewhat whimsical. He does not hesitate to declare, that "*we must look only to each other;*" that the assistance of Great Britain "*is not at all to be relied on, and that it is not wanted;*" that "*the power of the country is fully adequate to its protection;*" that he does not "*care a cent in what point of view*" the British would see the contest; and that, the success or defeat of France "*is to be as we please;*" he does not hesitate a moment to assert all this, yet he concludes with saying: "I do not say, whether, if we shall both be engaged in a war with the same enemy, a *fair, equal, and independent war treaty*, may not be formed between us, for *MUTUAL* advantage and assistance. On *this point*, I give no opinion *as yet.*"—And, *why not?*—This is a perfect paradox. If Great Britain is *not to be relied on*: if her aid is not worth a *cent*; if you can stop the French *just when you please*: if all this be so, why not "*give an opinion on this point as yet?*" Are you waiting to *get your cue* from the people? To stand thus, feeling the pulse of the public, on a question of importance,

tance, to be dragged along by the current of events, or to be precipitated by the torrent of the popular voice, is a certain mark of an indecisive, a feeble, and dependent mind, the servant of circumstances, the sport of caprice and the slave of power.

A man of such a capacity is not, however, merely on that account, to be despised.—While he is content to move in the humble sphere for which God has made him, he is even entitled to our regard: he is despicable only when his imbecility is accompanied with presumption.

Proceedings during the Session of Congress, which opened on the 22d of November, 1797.

Under this head I shall first insert the PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, next the report on the embassy to France, which I shall follow by a summary of the proceedings during the session, which was drawn up for PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE, and was published in the form of a letter from Mr. Harper to his constituents.

S P E E C H.

*“ Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of
“ the House of Representatives,*

“ I was for some time apprehensive that it would be necessary, on account of the contagious sickness which afflicted the city of Philadelphia, to convene the national legislature at some other place; this measure it was desirable to avoid, because it would occasion much public inconvenience, and a considerable public expense, and add to the calamities of the inhabitants of this city whose sufferings must have excited the sympathy of all their
fellow

fellow citizens; therefore, after taking measures, to ascertain the state and decline of the sickness, I postponed my determination, having hopes, now happily realized, that without hazard to the lives or health of the members, Congress might assemble at this place, where it was next by law to meet; I submit, however, to your consideration, whether a power to postpone the meeting of Congress without passing the time fixed by the constitution upon such occasions, would not be a useful amendment to the law of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

“ Although I cannot yet congratulate you on the re-establishment of peace in Europe, and the restoration of security to the persons and properties of our citizens, from injustice and violence at sea; we have nevertheless, abundant causes of gratitude to the source of benevolence and influence, for interior tranquillity and personal security, for propitious seasons, prosperous agriculture, productive fisheries, and general improvements; and, above all, for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm, but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks.

“ Our envoys extraordinary to the French republic embarked, one in July, the other early in August, to join their colleague, in Holland. I have received intelligence of the arrival of both of them in Holland, from whence they all proceeded on their journey to Paris within a few days of the nineteenth of September. Whatever may be the result of this mission, I trust that nothing will have been omitted on my part, to conduct the negotiation to a successful conclusion, on such equitable terms as may be compatible with the safety, honour, and interest of the United States. Nothing

thing in the meantime will contribute so much to the preservation of peace, and the attainment of justice, as a manifestation of that energy and unanimity, of which, on many former occasions, the people of the United States have given such memorable proof, and the exertion of those resources, for national defence, which a beneficent providence has kindly placed within their power.

“ It may be confidently asserted, that nothing has occurred since the adjournment of Congress, which renders inexpedient those precautionary measures, recommended by me to the consideration of the two houses at the opening of your late extraordinary session. If that system was then prudent, it is more so now, as increasing depredations strengthen the reasons for its adoption.

“ Indeed, whatever may be the issue of the negotiation with France, and whether the war in Europe is, or is not to continue, I hold it most certain, that permanent tranquillity and order will not soon be obtained. The state of society has so long been disturbed; the sense of moral and religious obligation, so much weakened; public faith and national honour have been so impaired; respect to treaties has been so diminished, and the law of nations has lost so much of its force; while pride, ambition, avarice, and violence, have been so long unrestrained, there remains no unreasonable ground, on which to raise an expectation that a commerce without protection or defence, will not be plundered.

“ The commerce of the United States, is essential, if not to their existence, at least to their comfort, their growth, prosperity and happiness. The genius, character, and habits of the people are highly commercial; their cities have been formed and exist upon commerce; our agriculture, fisheries,

ries, arts and manufactures, are connected with, and depend upon it; in short, commerce has made this country what it is, and it cannot be destroyed or neglected, without involving the people in poverty and distress; great numbers are directly and solely supported by navigation,—the faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial, and seafaring, no less than of the other citizens.—Under this view of our affairs, I should hold myself guilty of a neglect of duty, if I forebore to recommend, that we should make every exertion to protect our commerce, and to place our country in a suitable posture of defence, as the only sure means of preserving both.

“ I have entertained an expectation, that it would have been in my power, at the opening of this session, to have communicated to you, the agreeable information of the due execution of our treaty with his Catholic Majesty, respecting the withdrawing of the troops, from our territory, and a demarcation of the line of limits; but by the latest authentic intelligence, Spanish garrisons were still continued within our country, and the running of the boundary line had not been commenced; these circumstances are the more to be regretted, as they cannot fail to affect the Indians in a manner injurious to the United States; still, however, indulging the hope, that the answers which have been given, will remove the objections offered by the Spanish officers, to the immediate execution of the treaty, I have judged it proper that we should continue in readiness to receive the posts, and to run the line of limits.—Further information on this subject will be communicated in the course of the session.

“ In connection with the unpleasant state of things on our Western frontier, it is proper for me to mention, the attempts of foreign agents, to alie-

nate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities, against the United States; great activity has been exerted by those persons, who have insinuated themselves, among the Indian tribes, residing within the territory of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections, and force, to a foreign nation, to form them into a confederacy, and prepare them for war against the United States.

“ Although measures have been taken to counteract these infractions upon our rights, to prevent Indian hostilities, and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe that to give a better effect to these measures, and to obviate the consequences of repetition of such practices, a law providing adequate punishment, for such offences may be necessary.

“ The commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain to ascertain the river, which was truly intended, under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, met at Passamaquoddy-Bay in October 1796, and viewed the mouths of the rivers in question, the adjacent shores and islands; and being of opinion, that actual surveys of both rivers to their sources, were necessary, gave to the agents of the two nations, instructions for that purpose; and adjourned to meet at Boston in August; they met, but the surveys requiring more time than had been supposed, and not being then completed, the commissioners again adjourned to meet at Providence, in the State of Rhode Island in June next, when we may expect a final examination and decision.

“ The commissioners appointed in pursuance of the 6th article of the treaty met at Philadelphia in May last, to examine the claims of British subjects,

jects, for debts contracted before the peace, and still remaining due to them from citizens or inhabitants of the United States ; various causes have hitherto prevented any determinations ; but the business is now resumed, and doubtless will be prosecuted without interruption.

“ Several decisions on the claims of the citizens of the United States for losses and damages, sustained by reason of irregular and illegal captures, or condemnations of their vessels, or other property, have been made by the commissioners in London, conformably to the 7th article of the treaty ; —the sums awarded by the commissioners have been paid by the British government ; a considerable number of other claims, where costs and damages, and not captured property were the only objects in question, have been decided by arbitration, and the sums awarded to the citizens of the United States, have also been paid.

“ The commissioners appointed agreeably to the 21st article of the treaty with Spain, met at Philadelphia in the summer past to examine and decide on the claims of our citizens, for losses they have sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, during the late war between Spain and France—their sittings have been interrupted, but are now resumed.

“ The United States being obligated to make compensation for the losses and damages, sustained by British subjects upon the award of the commissioners, acting under the sixth article of the treaty with Great Britain, and for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, by reason of the capture of their vessels and merchandize, taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and brought into their ports, or taken by vessels originally armed in the ports of the United States,
upon

upon the awards of the commissioners acting under the 7th article of the same treaty, it is necessary that provision be made for fulfilling these obligations.

“ The numerous captures of American vessels by the cruisers of the French Republic, and of some by those of Spain, have occasioned considerable expenses, in making and supporting the claims of our citizens before their tribunals. The sums required for this purpose, have in divers instances been disbursed by the consuls of the United States. By means of the same captures, great numbers of our seamen have been thrown ashore in foreign countries, destitute of all means of subsistence, and the sick in particular have been exposed to grievous sufferings. The consuls have in these cases also advanced monies for their relief: For these advances, they reasonably expect reimbursement from the United States. The consular act relative to seamen requires revision and amendment; the provisions for their support in foreign countries, and for their return, are found to be inadequate and ineffectual. Another provision seems necessary to be added to the consular act, some foreign vessels have been discovered sailing under the flag of the United States, and with forged papers. It seldom happens that the consuls can detect this deception, because they have no authority to demand an inspection of the registers and sea letters.”

“ Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ It is my duty to recommend to your serious consideration, those objects which by the constitution are placed particularly within your sphere, the national debt and taxes.

“ Since the decay of the feudal system, by which the public defence was provided for, chiefly at the
expense

expense of individuals, the system of loans has been introduced, and as no nation can raise within the year by taxes sufficient sums for its defence, and military operations in time of war, the sums loaned, and debts contracted, have necessarily become the subjects of what have been called funding systems. The consequences arising from the continual accumulation of public debts in other countries, ought to admonish us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own. The national defence may be provided for, as well as the support of government; but both should be accomplished as much as possible by immediate taxes, and as little as possible by loans. The estimates for the service of the ensuing year will by my direction be laid before you.

*“ Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of
the House of Representatives,*

“ We are met together at a most interesting period; the situations of the principal powers of Europe are singular and portentous, connected with some by treaties and with all by commerce, no important event there can be indifferent to us; such circumstances call with peculiar importunity not less for a disposition to unite in all those measures on which the honour, safety, and prosperity of our country depend, than for all the exertions of wisdom and firmness.

“ In all such measures you may rely on my zealous and hearty concurrence.

“ JOHN ADAMS.”

INSTRUCTIONS

To Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the French Republic, communicated to the Senate, on the 9th of April, 1798.

Department of State, July 15, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is known to you, that the people of the United States of America, entertained a warm and sincere affection for the people of France, ever since their arms were united in the war with Great Britain, which ended in the full and formal acknowledgment of the Independence of these States. It is known to you, that this affection was ardent, when the French determined to reform their government, and establish it on the basis of liberty; that liberty in which the people of the United States were born, and which, in the conclusion of the war above-mentioned, was finally and firmly secured. It is known to you, that this affection rose to enthusiasm, when the war was kindled between France and the powers of Europe, which were combined against her, for the avowed purpose of restoring the monarchy; and every where vows were heard for the success of the French arms. Yet, during this period, France expressed no wish that the United States should depart from their neutrality. And while no duty required us to enter into the war, and our best interests urged us to remain at peace, the government determined to take a neutral station: which being taken, the duties of an impartial neutrality became indispensably binding. Hence, the government early proclaimed to our citizens, the nature of those duties, and the consequences of their violation.

The minister of France, Mr. Genet, who arrived about this time, by his public declaration, confirmed the idea, that France did not desire us to quit the ground we had taken. His measures, however, were calculated to destroy our neutrality, and to draw us into the war.

The principles of the proclamation of neutrality, founded on the law of nations, which is the law of the land, were afterwards recognized by the National Legislature, and the observance

vance of them enforced by specific penalties, in the act of Congress, passed the fifth of June 1794. By these principles and laws, the acts of the Executive, and the decisions of the courts of the United States were regulated.

A government thus fair and upright in its principles, and just and impartial in its conduct, might have confidently hoped to be secure against formal official censure: but the United States have not been so fortunate. The acts of their government, in its various branches, though pure in principle, and impartial in operation, and conformable to their indispensable rights of sovereignty, have been assigned as the cause of the offensive and injurious measures of the French Republic. For proofs of the former, all the acts of the government may be vouched; while the aspersions so freely uttered by the French ministers, the refusal to hear the minister of the United States, specially charged to enter on amicable discussions on all the topics of complaint, the decrees of the Executive Directory, and of their agents, the depredations on our commerce, and the violences against the persons of our citizens, are evidences of the latter. These injuries and depredations will constitute an important subject of your discussions with the government of the French Republic; and for all these wrongs, you will seek redress.

In respect to the depredations on our commerce, the principal objects will be, to agree on an equitable mode of examining and deciding the claims of our citizens, and the manner and periods of making them compensation. As to the first, the seventh article of the British, and the twenty-first of the Spanish Treaty, present approved precedents to be adopted with France. The proposed mode of adjusting those claims by commissioners appointed on each side, is so perfectly fair, we cannot imagine that it will be refused. But when the claims are adjusted, if payment in specie cannot be obtained, it may be found necessary to agree, in behalf of our citizens, that they shall accept public securities payable with interest at such periods as the state of the French finances shall render practicable. These periods, you will endeavour, as far as possible, to shorten.

Not only the recent depredations, under colour of the decrees of the Directory of the second of July 1796, and the second of March 1797, or under the decrees of their agents, or the illegal sentences of their tribunals, but all prior ones not already satisfactorily adjusted, should be put in this equitable train of settlement. To cancel many, or all of the last mentioned claims might be the effect of the decree of the Executive Directory of the second of March last, reviving the decree of the 9th of May 1793: but this being an *ex post facto* regulation, as well as a violation of the treaty between the United States and France, cannot be obligatory on the former.

Indeed the greater part, probably nearly all the captures and confiscations in question, have been committed in direct violation of that treaty, or of the law of nations. But the injuries arising from the capture of enemies property in vessels of the United States, may not be very extensive; and, if for such captured property, the French government will, agreeably to the law of nations, pay the freight and reasonable demurrage, we shall not, on this account, any farther contend. But of ship timber, and naval stores, taken and confiscated by the French, they ought to pay the full value; because our citizens continued their traffic in those articles, under the faith of the treaty with France. On these two points, we ought to expect, that the French government will not refuse to do us justice: and the more, because it has not, at any period of the war, expressed its desire, that the commercial treaty should, in these respects, be altered.

Besides the claims of our citizens, for depredations on their property, there are many arising from express contracts, made with the French government, or its agents, or founded on the seizure of their property, in French ports. Other claims have arisen from the long detention of a multitude of our vessels in the ports of France. The wrong hereby done to our citizens, was acknowledged by the French government, and in some, perhaps in most of the cases, small payments towards indemnifications have been made: the residue still remains to be claimed.

All these just demands of our citizens, will merit your attention. The best possible means of compensation must be attempted. These will depend on what you shall discover to be practicable in relation to the French finances. But an exception must be made, in respect to debts due to our citizens by the contracts of the French government, and its agents, if they are comprehended in any stipulation; and an option reserved to them, jointly or individually, either to accept the means of payment which you shall stipulate, or resort to the French government, directly for the fulfilment of its contracts.

Although the reparation for losses sustained by the citizens of the United States, in consequence of irregular or illegal captures, or condemnations, or forcible seizures, or detentions, is of very high importance, and is to be pressed with the greatest earnestness, yet it is not to be insisted on as an indispensable condition of the proposed treaty. You are not, however, to renounce these claims of our citizens, nor to stipulate that they be assumed by the United States, as a loan to the French government.

In respect to the alterations of the commercial treaty with France, in the two cases which have been principal subjects of complaint on her part, viz. enemies' property in neutral ships, and the articles contraband of war; although France can have

no right to claim the annulling of stipulations at the moment, when by both parties they were originally intended to operate; yet, if the French government press for alterations, the President has no difficulty in substituting the principles of the law of nations, as stated in the 17th and 18th articles of our commercial treaty with Great Britain, to those of the 23d and 24th articles of our commercial treaty with France: and in respect to provisions, and other articles not usually deemed contraband, you are to agree only on a temporary compromise, like that in the 18th article of the British treaty, and of the same duration. It, however, in order to satisfy France, *now she is at war*, we change the two important articles before mentioned, then the 14th article of the French treaty, which subjects the property of the neutral nation found on board enemies' ships, to capture and condemnation, must of course be abolished.

We have witnessed so many erroneous constructions of the treaty with France, even in its plainest parts, that it will be necessary to examine every article critically, for the purpose of preventing, as far as human wisdom can prevent, all future misinterpretations. The kind of documents necessary for the protection of the neutral vessels, should be enumerated and minutely described; the cases in which a sea-letter should be required, may be specified; the want of a sea-letter should not of itself be a cause of confiscation, where other reasonable proof of property is produced; and where such proof is furnished, the want of a sea-letter should go no further than to save the captor from damages, for detaining and bringing in the neutral vessel. The proportion of the vessel's crew, which may be foreigners, should be agreed on. Perhaps it will be expedient to introduce divers other regulations, conformably to the marine laws of France. Whenever these are to operate on the commerce of the United States, our safety requires, that as far as possible, they be fixed by treaty. And it will be desirable to stipulate against any *ex post facto* laws, or regulation, under any pretence whatever.

Great Britain has often claimed a right, and practised upon it, to prohibit neutral nations carrying on a commerce with her enemies, which had not been allowed in time of peace. On this head, it will be desirable to come to an explicit understanding with France; and, if possible, to obviate the claim by an express stipulation.

Such expensive depredations have been committed on the commerce of neutrals, and especially of the United States, by the citizens of France, under pretence that her enemies (particularly Great Britain), have done the same things, it will be desirable to have it explicitly stipulated, that the conduct of an enemy towards the neutral power, shall not authorize or excuse the other belligerent power in any departure from the law of nations, or the stipulations of the treaty: especially

cially that the vessels of the neutral nation shall never be captured or detained, or their property confiscated, or injured, because bound to or from an enemy's port, except the case of a blockaded port, the entering into which may be prevented, according to the known rule of the law of nations. And, it may be expedient to define a blockaded place, or port, to be one actually invested by land, or naval forces, or both, and that no *declaration* of a blockade, shall have any effect without such actual investment. And no commercial right whatever should be abandoned, which is secured to neutral powers by the European law of nations.

The foregoing articles being those which the French government has made the ostensible grounds of its principal complaints, they have naturally been first brought into view. But the proposed alterations and arrangements, suggest the propriety of revising all our treaties with France. In such revision, the first object that will attract your attention, is the reciprocal guarantee in the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance. This guarantee, we are perfectly willing to renounce. The guarantee by France, of the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, will add nothing to our security, while, on the contrary, our guarantee of the possessions of France in America, will perpetually expose us to the risk and expense of war, or to disputes and questions, concerning our national faith.

When Mr. Genet was sent as the minister of the French Republic, to the United States, its situation was embarrassed, and the success of its measures problematical. In such circumstances, it was natural that France should turn her eye to the mutual guarantee: and, accordingly it was required, in Mr. Genet's instructions, to be "an essential clause in the new treaty," which he was to propose: and on the ground "that it nearly concerned the peace and prosperity of the French nation, that a people whose resources increase beyond all calculation, and whom nature had placed so near their rich colonies, should become interested, by their own engagements, in the preservation of those islands." But, at this time, France, powerful by her victories, and secure in her triumphs, may less regard the reciprocal guarantee with the United States, and be willing to relinquish it. As a substitute for the reciprocal guarantee may be proposed, a mutual renunciation of the same territories and possessions, that were subjects of the guarantee and renunciation in the sixth and eleventh articles of the treaty of alliance. Such a renunciation, on our part, would obviate the reason assigned in the instruction to Mr. Genet, before cited, *of future danger from the rapidly growing power of the United States*. But, if France insists on the mutual guarantee, it will be necessary to aim at some modification of it.

The existing engagement is of that kind which, by writers on the law of nations, is called a general guarantee; of course, the *casus fœderis* can never occur, except in a *defensive* war. The nature of this obligation is understood to be, that when a war *really* and *truly defensive* exists, the engaging nation is bound to furnish an *effectual* and adequate *defence*, in co-operation with the power attacked: whence it follows, that the nation *may* be required, in some circumstances, to bring forward its whole force. The nature and extent of the succours demandable, not being ascertained, engagements of this kind are dangerous, on account of their uncertainty: there is always hazard of doing too much, or too little, and, of course, of being involved in involuntary rupture.

Specific succours have the advantage of certainty, and are less liable to occasion war. On the other hand, a general guarantee allows a latitude for the exercise of judgment and discretion.

On the part of the United States, instead of troops, or ships of war, it will be convenient to stipulate for a moderate sum of money, or quantity of provisions, at the option of France: the provisions to be delivered at our own ports, in any future *defensive* wars. The sum of money, or its value in provisions, ought not to exceed two hundred thousand dollars a-year, during any such wars. The reciprocal stipulation on the part of France, may be to furnish annually the like sum of money, or an equivalent in military stores and cloathing for troops, at the option of the United States, to be delivered in the ports of France.

Particular caution, however, must be used in discussing this subject, not to admit any claims on the ground of the guarantee, in relation to the existing war; as we do not allow, that the *casus fœderis* applies to it. And, if the war should continue after your arrival in France, and the question of the guarantee should not be mentioned on her part, you may yourselves be silent on the subject, if you deem it most prudent.

It will be proper here, to notice such articles of the treaty of amity and commerce, between the United States and France, as have been differently construed by the two governments, or which it may be expedient to amend, or explain.

ARTICLE 2. The assent of the United States, in their treaty with Great Britain, to the doctrine of the law of nations, respecting enemies' property in neutral ships, and ship timber, and naval stores; and in some cases provisions, as contraband of war, the French government has chosen to consider as a voluntary *grant of favours*, in respect to commerce and navigation to Great Britain, and that consequently the same favours have become common to France. This construction is so foreign from our ideas of the meaning and design of this article,

it shews the necessity of reviewing all the articles; and, however clear they may appear, of attempting to obviate future misconstructions by declaratory explanations, or a change of terms.

ART. 5. France has repeatedly contended, that the imposition of fifty *per cents* per ton on French vessels arriving in the United States, is contrary to the fifth article of the treaty. The arguments in support of this pretension are unknown; but it is presumed to be unfounded. The reciprocal right of laying "duties or imposts of what nature soever," equal to those imposed on the most favoured nations, and without any other restrictions, seems to be clearly settled by the third and fourth articles. The fifth article appears to have been intended merely to define, or qualify the rights of American vessels in France. It is however desirable, that the question be understood, and all doubt concerning it removed. But the introduction of a principle of discrimination between the vessels of different foreign nations, and in derogation of the powers of Congress, to raise revenue by uniform duties on any objects whatever, cannot be hazarded. The naturalization of French vessels, will, of course, be considered as admissible.

ART. 8. The stipulation of doing us good offices, to secure peace to the United States, with the Barbary powers, has never yet procured us any advantage. If, therefore, the French Government lays any stress on this stipulation, as authorizing a claim for some other engagement from us, in favour of France, it may be abandoned; and, especially, if its abrogation can be applied as a set off against some existing French claim.

ART. 14. If the alterations already proposed, are made in the 23d and 24th articles, then this 14th article, as before observed, must be abolished.

ART. 17. The construction put on this article by the government of the United States, is conceived to be reasonable and just; and is therefore to be insisted on. The tribunals of the respective countries, will consequently be justified, in taking cognizance of all captures made within their respective jurisdictions; or by illegal privateers; and those of one country will be deemed illegal, which are fitted out in the country of the other remaining neutral: seeing to permit such arming, would violate the neutral duties of the latter.

It will be expedient to fix explicitly the reception to be given to *public ships of war*, of all nations. The French ministers have demanded, that the public ships of the enemies of France, which at any time, and in any part of the world, had made prize of a French vessel, should be excluded from the ports of the United States; although they brought in no prize with them. In opposition to this demand, we have contended, that they were to be excluded only when they came in with French prizes. And the kind of asylum to be afforded in all other circumstances,

circumstances, is described in Mr. Jefferson's Letter to Mr. Hammond, dated the 9th of September 1793, in the following words: "Thus, then, the *public ships of war*, of both nations, (English and French) enjoy a perfect equality in our ports; " 1st, in cases of urgent necessity; 2d, in cases of comfort, or " convenience; and 3d, in the time they choose to continue." And such shelter and accommodation are due to the public ships of all nations, on the principle of hospitality among friendly nations.

It will also be expedient, explicitly to declare, that the right of asylum, stipulated for the armed vessels of France and their prizes, gives no right to make sale of those prizes.

But when prize ships are so disabled, as to be incapable of putting to sea again, until refitted, and when they are utterly disabled, some provision is necessary, relative to their cargoes. Both cases occurred last year. The government permitted, though with hesitation and caution, the cargoes to be unloaded, one of the vessels to be repaired, and part of the prize goods sold, to pay for the repairs, and the cargo of the vessel that was found unfit ever to go to sea again, was allowed to be exported as *prize goods*, even in neutral bottoms. The doubts on these occasions arose from the 24th article of the British treaty, forbidding the sale of the prizes of privateers, or the exchanging of the same, in any manner whatever. But as French prizes were entitled to an asylum in our ports, it was conceived to be a reasonable construction of it, to allow of such proceedings as those above mentioned, to prevent the total loss of vessels and cargoes. The 25th article of the British treaty, demands attention; as it is therein stipulated, that no future treaty shall be made, that shall be inconsistent with that, or the 24th article. Another doubt arose, whether the British treaty did not, in good faith, require the prohibition of the sale of prizes made by the *National ships* of France, as well as of those made by her privateers; especially seeing our treaty with France, gave her no right to sell any prizes whatever: but, upon the whole, it was conceived that the United States, having before allowed the sale of such prizes, and the prohibition in the 24th article of the treaty, being distinctly pointed against the sale of the prizes of *Privateers*, it was thought proper to permit the former practice to continue, until the Executive should make and publish a prohibition of the sale of all prizes, or that Congress should pass a prohibitory law.

ART. 22. If in new modelling the treaty with France, the total prohibition of the sale of prizes in the ports of the party remaining neutral, should not be agreed on, at least the right of each power to make at its pleasure such prohibition, whether they are prizes of *National ships*, or privateers, should be acknowledged, for the reason more than once suggested—to prevent a repetition of claims upon unfounded constructions; such

such as under the present article, that a *prohibition* to an *enemy* of either party, is a *grant* to the *other* of the thing forbidden.

ART. 23d and 24th. These have been already considered, and the alterations proposed have been mentioned.

There have been so many unjust causes and pretences assigned for capturing and confiscating American vessels, it may perhaps be impossible to guard against a repetition of them in any treaty which can be devised. To state the causes and pretences that have been already advanced by the Government of France, its agents and tribunals, as the grounds of the capture and condemnation of American vessels and cargoes, would doubtless give pain to any man of an ingenuous mind, who should be employed on the part of France, to negotiate another treaty, or a modification of the treaties which exist. It is not desired, therefore, to go farther into detail on these matters than shall be necessary to guard by explicit stipulations, against future misconstructions, and the mischiefs they will naturally produce.

Under pretence that certain ports were surrendered to the English by the treachery of the French and Dutch inhabitants, Victor Hugues and Lebas, the special agents of the Executive Directory, at Guadaloupe, have declared, that all neutral vessels bound to or from such ports shall be good prize.

Under the pretence that the British were taking all neutral vessels bound to or from French ports, the French agents at St. Domingo (Santhorax and others) decreed that all *American* vessels bound to or from English ports, should be captured; and they have since declared such captured vessels to be good prize. The French consuls in Spain have, on the same ground, condemned a number of American vessels, merely because they were destined to or coming from an English port.

Under the pretence, that the sea-letters or passports prescribed by the commercial treaty, for the mutual advantage of the merchants and navigators of the two nations, to save their vessels from detention and other vexations, when met with at sea, by presenting so clear a proof of the property, are an indispensable document to be found on board the French confiscate American vessels destitute of them, even when they acknowledge the property to be American.

Because horses and their military furniture, when destined to any enemies' port, are by the 24th article of the commercial treaty, declared contraband, and as such by themselves, only liable to confiscation, Hugues and Lebas decreed all *neutral vessels* having horses, or any other contraband goods on board, should be good prize; and they accordingly condemned vessels and cargoes.

The ancient ordinances of the French monarchs, required a variety of papers to be on board neutral vessels, the want of any one of which, is made a cause of condemnation; although
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the 25th article of the commercial treaty mentions what certificates shall accompany the merchant vessels and cargoes of each party, and which by every reasonable construction, ought to give them protection.

It will, therefore, be advisable, to guard against abuses by descending to particulars: to describe the ships' papers which shall be required, and to declare that the want of any other shall not be a cause for confiscation: to fix the mode of manning vessels as to the officers, and the proportion of the crews who shall be citizens; endeavouring to provide, in respect to American vessels, that more than one third may be foreigners. This provision will be important to the Southern states, which have but few native seamen.

The marine ordinances of France, will shew what regulations have been required, to be observed by allied, as well as neutral powers in general, to ascertain and secure the property of neutrals. Some of these regulations may be highly proper to be adopted; while others may be inconvenient and burthensome. Your aim will be to render the documents and formalities, as few, and as simple as will consist with a fair and regular commerce.

ARTICLES 25 and 27. These two articles should be rendered conformable to each other. The 27th says, that after the exhibition of the *passport*, the vessel shall be allowed to pass without molestation or search, without giving her chace, or forcing her to quit her intended course. The 25th requires that besides the *passport* vessels shall be furnished with certain certificates, which of course must also be exhibited. It will be expedient to add, that if in the face of such evidence, the armed vessel will carry the other into port, and the papers are found conformable to treaty, the captors shall be condemned in all the charges, damages, and interests thereof, which they shall have caused. A provision of this nature is made in the eleventh article of our treaty with the United Netherlands.

ARTICLE 28 The prohibited goods here mentioned, have no relation to contraband; but merely to such as *by the laws of the country are forbidden to be exported*. Yet in the case of exporting horses from Virginia, which no law prohibited, in the winter of 1796, this article was applied by the French Minister to horses which by the French treaty are contraband of war. And a letter from the Minister to Victor Hugues and Lebas, informing them that the American government refused to prevent such export of horses by the British, is made one ground for their decree above mentioned.

ARTICLE 30 The vessels of the United States ought to be admitted into the ports of France, in the same manner as the vessels of France are admitted into the ports of the United States. But such a stipulation ought not to authorize the admission of vessels of either party into the ports of the other,
into

into which the admission of all foreign vessels shall be forbidden by the laws of France and of the United States respectively. With this restriction, the principles of the 14th article of the treaty with Great Britain, afford a liberal and unexceptionable precedent. A restriction like that here referred to will be found in the first paragraph of the third article of the British Treaty.

The commerce to the French colonies in the East and West Indies, will doubtless be more or less restricted, according to the usage of other European nations. Yet on account of the disarranged condition of the French navigation, probably a larger latitude of trade with their colonies will be readily permitted for a term of years: and perhaps the mutual advantages, thence resulting, will be found so great as to induce afterwards a prolongation of that term, to which the course or habit of business may contribute.

While between the United States and France, there shall subsist a perfect reciprocity in respect to commerce, we must endeavour to extend our trade to her colonies to as many articles as possible. Of these the most important are provisions of all kinds, as beef, pork, flour, butter, cheese, fish, grain, pulse, live stock, and every other article serving for food, which is the produce of the country, horses, mules, timber, plants, and wood of all kinds, cabinet ware and other manufactures of the United States: and to obtain in return all the articles of the produce of those colonies, without exception; at least to the value of the cargoes carried to those colonies.

There have been different constructions of the Consular Convention. The French have contended for the execution of their consular decisions, by the marshal or other officer of the United States; and their minister of justice has formally stated in a report to the minister of foreign affairs, that the judicial sentences of the American consuls in France will be executed by certain officers of justice in that country. The legal opinion of the law officers of the United States, which the government has adopted, opposes such a construction. The French have also contended, that deserters from French vessels ought to be apprehended by the judicial officers of the United States, upon other evidence than the original shipping paper, or *rôle d'équipage*: whereas the district judges have insisted that the Consular Convention requires the original *rôle* to be produced. This claim was lately revived by the consul-general of the French republic. The correspondence on this occasion will be joined to the other documents, which accompany these instructions.

The United States cannot consent to the erecting of foreign tribunals within their jurisdiction. We consider the judicial authority

authority of consuls as described in the Consular Convention, to be voluntary, not compulsory, in the country where they reside: and that their decisions, if not obeyed by the parties respectively, must be enforced by the laws of their proper country; and such a provision you will see has been made in France, where a penalty of 1400 livres is imposed on the citizen who refuses obedience to a consular decision in a foreign state.

The Consular Convention will expire in about four years; and if any great difficulties arise in settling the terms of a new one, that which exists must take its course: but if the French government should be silent on the subject of the Consular Convention, silence may be observed on our part.

The ports of the United States being frequented by the vessels of different belligerent powers, it became necessary to regulate the times of their sailing. The President, therefore, adopted what was understood to be the received rule in Europe; and ordered that after the sailing of a vessel of one of the belligerent powers, twenty-four hours should elapse before an armed vessel of an enemy of the former should set sail. This rule has not been duly respected by the armed vessels of France and Great Britain.

As the tranquillity of the United States requires, that no hostile movements be commenced within their jurisdiction; and the interests of commerce demand an entire freedom to the departure of vessels from their ports, it may be expedient expressly to recognize the above mentioned rule.

It will also be expedient to agree on the extent of territorial jurisdiction on the sea coast, and in what situations bays and sounds may be said to be land-locked, and within the jurisdiction of the sovereign of the adjacent country.

On the supposition that a treaty will be negotiated to alter and amend the treaties which now exist between France and the United States, the following leading principles to govern the negotiation, are subjoined.

1. Conscious integrity authorizes the government to insist, that no blame or censure be directly or indirectly imputed to the United States. But on the other hand, however exceptionable in the view of our own government, and in the eyes of an impartial world may have been the conduct of France, yet she may be unwilling to acknowledge any aggressions, and we do not wish to wound her feelings or to excite resentment. It will therefore be best to adopt on this point the principle of the British Treaty, and "terminate our differences in such manner, as without referring to the merits of our respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding."

2. That

2. That no aid be stipulated in favour of France during the present war.

3. That no engagement be made inconsistent with the obligations of any prior treaty.

4. That no restraint on our lawful commerce with any other nation be admitted.

5. That no stipulation be made, under colour of which, tribunals can be established within our jurisdiction or personal privileges claimed by French citizens, incompatible with the complete sovereignty and independence of the United States in matters of policy, commerce, and government.

It will be expedient to limit the duration of the treaty to a term of, from ten to twenty years. Such changes in the circumstances of the two parties are likely to happen within either of these periods, as to give one or both good reason to desire a change in the conditions of the treaty. From this limitation may be expected such articles as are declaratory of a state of peace, or as are intended to regulate the conduct of the two nations, at the commencement of, or during a state of war, or which are founded in morality and justice, and are in their nature of perpetual obligation. Of this kind may be considered the 10th article of the treaty with Great Britain; which therefore may very properly be introduced into the treaty with France.

Finally, the great object of the government being to do justice to France and her citizens, if in any thing we have injured them; to obtain justice for the multiplied injuries they have committed against us; and to preserve peace, your style and manner of proceeding will be such as shall most directly tend to secure these objects. There may be such a change of men and measures in France as will authorize, perhaps render politic, the use of strong language, in describing the treatment we have received. On the other hand, the French government may be determined to frustrate the negotiation, and throw the odium on this country; in which case, any thing like warmth and harshness, would be made the pretext. If things remain in their present situation, the style of representation will unite, as much as possible, calm dignity with simplicity, force of sentiment with mildness of language, and be calculated to impress an idea of inflexible perseverance, rather than of distrust or confidence.

With these instructions, you will receive the following documents.

1. The printed state papers, containing the correspondence between the Secretary of State, and the French Minister, Mr. Genet.

2. The

2. The letter dated January 16th 1797, from the Secretary of State to General Pinckney, and the documents therein referred to, in which all the known complaints of the French government, since the recall of Mr. Genet, are exhibited and discussed.

3. A report from the Secretary of State, to the House of Representatives, dated the 27th of February 1797, exhibiting the state of American claims, which had been presented to the French government (but few of which had been satisfied); together with some further information, relative to the depredations by the officers, and people of that nation, on the commerce of the United States.

4. A report made by the Secretary of State, to the President of the United States, on the 21st of June 1797, and by him laid before Congress on the 22d.

5. Certain original depositions, protests, and other papers relative to the French spoliations on the commerce and personal insults and injuries to the citizens of the United States.

6. The documents laid before the House of Representatives, the 17th of May 1797, relative to General Pinckney's mission to Paris, and comprehending some papers relative to the capture and condemnation of American vessels by the French.

7. The correspondence with the French Consul, General Létombe, relative to the Consular Convention.

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

Secretary of State.

DISPATCHES

*From Messrs. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL and GERRY
(Envoys extraordinary to France), communicated to the Congress on the 3d of April 1798.*

(No. 1.)

Paris, October 22d, 1797.

Dear Sir,

All of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the fourth instant, on the next day we verbally and unofficially informed the minister of foreign affairs therewith, and desired

sired to know when he would be at leisure to receive one of our secretaries with the official notification: he appointed the next day at two o'clock; when Major Rutledge waited on him with the following letter:

Citizen Minister,

The United States of America being desirous of terminating all differences between them and the French Republic, and of restoring that harmony and good understanding, and that commercial, and friendly intercourse, which from the common cement of their political connection until lately have so happily subsisted, the President has nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate has appointed us, the undersigned, jointly and severally Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the French Republic, for the purpose of accomplishing these great objects. In pursuance of such nomination and appointment, and with such view having come to Paris, we wish, Citizen Minister, to wait on you at any hour you will be pleased to appoint, to present the copy of our letters of credence; and whilst we evince our sincere and ardent desire for the speedy restoration of friendship and harmony between the two republics, we flatter ourselves with your concurrence in the accomplishment of this desirable event. We request you will accept the assurances of our perfect esteem and consideration.

(Signed)

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
JOHN MARSHALL,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Paris, October 6th, in the 22d }
year of American Independence. }

To this letter the minister gave a verbal answer, that he would see us the day after the morrow, (the 8th), at one o'clock. Accordingly at that hour and day we waited on the minister at his house, where his office is held, when, being informed he was not at home, the secretary-general of the department, told Major Rutledge, that the minister was obliged to wait on the directory, and requested we would suspend our visit till three o'clock. At which hour we called. The minister we found was then engaged with the Portuguese

Portuguese minister, who retired in about ten minutes, when we were introduced and produced the copy of our letters of credence, which the minister perused and kept. He informed us, "that the Directory had required him to make a report relative to the situation of the United States with regard to France, which he was then about, and which would be finished in a few days, when he would let us know what steps were to follow." We asked if cards of hospitality were in the mean time necessary? He said they were, and that they should be delivered to us; and he immediately rung for his secretary and directed him to make them out. The conversation was carried on by him in French, and by us in our own language.

The next day cards of hospitality were sent to us and our secretaries, in a style suitable to our official character.

On Saturday the 14th, Major Mountflorencia informed General Pinckney, that he had a conversation with Mr. Osmond, the private and confidential secretary of the minister of foreign affairs, who told him, that the Directory were greatly exasperated at some parts of the President's speech, at the opening of the last session of Congress, and would require an explanation of them from us. The particular parts were not mentioned. In another conversation on the same day, the secretary informed the major, that the minister had told him it was probable we should not have a public audience of the Directory, till such time as our negotiation was finished, that probably persons might be appointed to treat with us; but they would report to him, and he would have the direction of the negotiation. The Major did not conceal from Mr. Osmond his intention to communicate these conversations to us.

In the morning of October the 18th, Mr. W . . . : of the house of . . . called on General Pinckney and informed him, that a M. X. who was in Paris, and whom the General had seen . . . was a gentleman of considerable credit and reputation . . . and that we might place great reliance on him.

In the evening of the same day, M. X. called on General Pinckney, and after having sat some time . . . whispered him, that he had a message from M. Talleyrand to communicate, when he was at leisure. General Pinckney immediately withdrew with him into another room; and when they were alone, M. X. said, that he was charged with a business in which he was a novice; that he had been

acquainted with M. Talleyrand and that he was sure he had a great regard for [America] and its citizens; and was desirous, that a reconciliation should be brought about with France; that to effectuate that end, he was ready, if it was thought proper, to suggest a plan, confidentially, that M. Talleyrand expected would answer the purpose. General Pinckney said he should be glad to hear it. M. X. replied, that the Directory, and particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at some passages of the President's speech, and desired that they should be softened; and that this step would be necessary, previous to our reception: that besides this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of the Directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand: and that a loan would also be insisted on. M. X. said, if we acceded to these measures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt, that all our differences with France might be accommodated. On inquiry, M. X. could not point out the particular passages of the speech that had given offence, nor the quantum of the loan: but mentioned that the *douceur* for the pocket was twelve hundred thousand livres, about fifty thousand pounds sterling. General Pinckney told him, his colleagues and himself, from the time of their arrival here, had been treated with great slight and disrespect; that they earnestly wished for peace and reconciliation with France; and had been entrusted by their country with very great powers to obtain these ends, on honourable terms: that with regard to the propositions made, he could not even consider of them, before he had communicated them to his colleagues: that after he had done so, he should hear from him. After a communication and consultation had, it was agreed, that General Pinckney should call on M. X. and request him to make his propositions to us all; and for fear of mistakes or misapprehension, that he should be requested to reduce the heads into writing. Accordingly, on the morning of October the nineteenth, General Pinckney called on M. X. who consented to see his colleagues in the evening, and to reduce his propositions to writing. He said his communication was not immediately with M. Talleyrand, but through another gentleman, in whom M. Talleyrand had great confidence: this proved afterwards to be M. Y.

At six in the evening, M. X. came, and left with us the first set of propositions; which, translated from the French, are as follows: "A person who possesses the confidence of
" the Directory, on what relates to the affairs of America,
" convinced

“ convicted of the mutual advantages, which would result
“ from the re-establishment of the good understanding be-
“ tween the two nations, proposes to employ all of his in-
“ fluence to obtain this object. He will assist the commis-
“ sioners of the United States in all the demands which they
“ may have to make from the government of France, inas-
“ much as they may not be contradictory to those which he
“ proposes himself to make, and of which the principal
“ will be communicated confidentially. It is desired, that
“ in the official communications, there should be given a
“ softening turn to a part of the President’s speech to Con-
“ gress, which has caused much irritation. It is feared,
“ that in not satisfying certain individuals in this respect,
“ they may give way to all their resentment. The nomina-
“ tion of commissioners will be consented to on the same
“ footing, as they have been named in the treaty with Eng-
“ land, to decide on the reclamations which individuals of
“ America may make on the government of France, or
“ on French individuals. The payment which, agreeably
“ to the decisions of the commissioners, shall fall to the share
“ of the French government, are to be advanced by the
“ American government itself. It is desired that the funds,
“ which by this means shall enter again into the American
“ trade, should be employed in new supplies for the French
“ colonies. Engagements of this nature, on the part of
“ individuals reclaiming, will always hasten, in all proba-
“ bility, the decisions of the French commissioners :
“ and perhaps it may be desired, that this clause should
“ make a part of the instructions, which the government
“ of the United States should give to the commissioners they
“ may choose. The French government desires, besides,
“ to obtain a loan from the United States ; but so that that
“ should not give any jealousy to the English government,
“ nor hurt the neutrality of the United States. This loan
“ shall be masked by stipulating, that the government of the
“ United States, consents to make the advances for the pay-
“ ment of the debts contracted by the agents of the French
“ government, with the citizens of the United States ; and
“ which are already acknowledged, and the payment order-
“ ed by the Directory ; but without having been yet effec-
“ tuated. There should be delivered a note to the amount
“ of these debts. Probably this note may be accompanied
“ by ostensible pieces, which will guarantee to the agents
“ the responsibility of the United States, in case any um-

"brage should cause an inquiry. There shall also be first
 "taken from this loan certain sums, for the purpose of mak-
 "ing the customary distributions in diplomatic affairs." The
 person of note mentioned in the minutes, who had the con-
 fidence of the Directory, he said, before us all, was M.
 Talleyrand. The amount of the loan he could not ascer-
 tain precisely; but understood it would be according to our
 ability to pay. The sum which would be considered as pro-
 per, according to diplomatic usage, was about twelve hun-
 dred thousand livres. He could not state to us what parts of
 the President's speech were excepted to; but said he would
 inquire and inform us. He agreed to breakfast with Mr.
 Gerry, the morning of the 21st, in order to make such ex-
 planations as we had then requested, or should think proper
 to request: but on the morning of the 20th, M. X. called
 and said, that M. Y. the confidential friend of M. Talley-
 rand, instead of communicating with us through M. X.
 would see us himself, and make the necessary explanations.
 We appointed to meet him in the evening of the twentieth at
 seven o'clock, in General Marshall's room. At seven M.
 Y. and M. X. entered; and the first mentioned gentleman,
 being introduced to us as the confidential friend of M. Tal-
 leyrand, immediately stated to us the favourable impres-
 sions of that gentleman toward our country, impressions
 which were made by the kindness and civilities he had per-
 sonally received in America: that impressed by his solicitude
 to repay these kindnesses, he was willing to aid us in the pre-
 sent negotiation by his good offices with the Directory, who
 were, he said, extremely irritated against the government of
 the United States, on account of some parts of the Presi-
 dent's speech, and who had neither acknowledged nor re-
 ceived us, and consequently have not authorized M. Tal-
 leyrand to have any communications with us. The minis-
 ter therefore could not see us himself; but had authorized his
 friend M. Y. to communicate to us certain propositions, and
 to receive our answers to them; and to promise on his part,
 that if we would engage to consider them as the basis of the
 proposed negotiation, he would intercede with the Directory
 to acknowledge us, and to give us a public audience. M.
 Y. stated to us explicitly and repeatedly, that he was clothed
 with no authority; that he was not a diplomatic character;
 that he was not he was only the friend
 of M. Talleyrand, and trusted by him; that with regard to
 himself he had
 and that he earnestly wished well to the United States. He
 then took out of his pocket a French translation of the Presi-
 dent's

dent's speech, the parts of which objected to by the Directory were marked, agreeably to our request to M. X. and are contained in the exhibit A. Then he made us the second set of propositions, which were dictated by him and written by M. X. in our presence, and delivered to us, and which, translated from the French, are as follows. " There
 " is demanded a formal disavowal in writing, declaring that
 " the speech of the citizen President Barras did not contain
 " any thing offensive to the government of the United States,
 " nor any thing which deserved the epithets contained in the
 " whole paragraph: Secondly, reparation is demanded for
 " the article by which it shall be declared, that the decree of
 " the Directory there mentioned did not contain any thing
 " contrary to the treaty of 1778, and had none of those
 " fatal consequences, that the paragraph reproaches to it:
 " Thirdly, it is demanded, that there should be an acknow-
 " ledgement in writing of the depredations exercised on our
 " trade by the English and French privateers; Fourthly,
 " the government of France, faithful to the profession of
 " public faith which it has made not to intermeddle in the
 " internal affairs of foreign governments with which it is
 " at peace, would look upon this paragraph as an attack
 " upon its loyalty, if this was intended by the President.
 " It demands, in consequence, a formal declaration, that
 " it is not the government of France, nor its agents, that
 " this paragraph meant to designate: In consideration of
 " these reparations, the French Republic is disposed to re-
 " new with the United States of America, a treaty which
 " shall place them reciprocally in the same state that they
 " were in 1778. By this new treaty, France shall be placed
 " with respect to the United States, exactly on the same
 " footing as they stand with England, in virtue of the last
 " treaty, which has been concluded between them. A se-
 " cret article of this new treaty, would be a loan to be made
 " by the United States to the French Republic: and once
 " agreed upon the amount of the loan, it would be endea-
 " voured to consult the convenience of the United States,
 " with respect to the best method of preventing its publicity.
 " On reading the speech M. Y. dilated very much upon the
 " keenness of the resentment it had produced, and ex-
 " tiated largely on the satisfaction he said was indispensably
 " necessary, as a preliminary to negotiation. But, said he,
 " gentlemen, I will not disguise from you, that, this satis-
 " faction being made, the essential part of the treaty remains
 " to be adjusted: *il faut de l'argent—il faut beaucoup d'ar-*
gent:"

“gent.” (you must pay money, you must pay a great deal of money.) He spoke much of the force, the honour, and the jealous republican pride of France; and represented to us strongly, the advantages which we should derive from the neutrality, thus to be purchased. He said, that the receipt of the money might be so disguised, as to prevent its being considered as a breach of neutrality by England; and thus save us from being embroiled with that power. Concerning the twelve hundred thousand livres, little was said; that being completely understood, on all sides, to be required for the officers of government, and therefore needing no further explanation. These propositions, he said, being considered as the admitted basis of the proposed treaty, M. Talleyrand trusted that, by his influence with the Directory, he could prevail on the government to receive us. We asked whether we were to consider it as certain, that, without a previous stipulation to the effect required, we were not to be received. He answered, that M. Talleyrand himself was not authorized to speak to us the will of the Directory, and consequently could not authorize him. The conversation continued until half after nine, when they left us; having engaged to breakfast with Mr. Gerry the next morning.

October 21st, M. X. came before nine o'clock: M. Y. did not come until ten—he had passed the morning with M. Talleyrand. After breakfast the subject was immediately resumed. He represented to us, that we were not yet acknowledged or received; that the Directory were so exasperated against the United States, as to have come to a determination to demand from us, previous to our reception, those disavowals, reparations, and explanations, which were stated at large last evening. He said that M. Talleyrand and himself, were extremely sensible of the pain we must feel in complying with this demand; but that the Directory would not dispense with it: that, therefore, we must consider it as the indispensable preliminary to obtain our reception; unless we could find the means to change their determination in this particular: that if we satisfied the Directory in these particulars, a letter would be written to us to demand the extent of our powers, and to know whether we were authorized to place them precisely on the same footing with England;—whether, he said, our full powers were really and substantially full powers; or, like those of Lord Malmesbury, only illusory powers: that, if to this demand our answer should be affirmative, then France would consent that commissioners should be appointed to ascertain the

the claims of the United States, in like manner as under our treaty with England; but from their jurisdiction must be withdrawn, those which were condemned for want of a *rôle d'équipage*; that being a point on which Merlin, while minister of justice, had written a treatise, and on which the Directory were decided. There would, however, be no objection to our complaining of these captures in the course of the negotiation, and if we could convince Merlin, by our reasoning, the minister would himself be satisfied with our so doing. We required an explanation of that part of the conversation, in which M. Y. had hinted at our finding means to avert the demand concerning the President's speech. He answered, that he was not authorized to state those means, but that we must search for them and propose them ourselves. If, however, we asked his opinion as a private individual, and would receive it as coming from him, he would suggest to us the means which in his opinion would succeed. On being asked to suggest the means, he answered, money; that the Directory were jealous of its own honour and of the honour of the nation; that it insisted on receiving from us the same respect with which we had treated the King; that this honour must be maintained in the manner before required, unless we substituted in the place of those reparations something perhaps more valuable, that was, money. He said further, that if we desired him to point out the sum which he believed would be satisfactory, he would do so. We requested him to proceed; and he said, that there were thirty-two millions of florins of Dutch inscriptions, worth ten shillings in the pound, which might be assigned to us at twenty shillings in the pound: and he proceeded to state to us the certainty, that after a peace, the Dutch government would repay us the money; so that we should ultimately lose nothing; and the only operation of the measure would be an advance from us to France of thirty-two millions, on the credit of the government of Holland. We asked him whether the fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a *douceur* to the Directory, must be in addition to this sum. He answered in the affirmative. We told him, that on the subject of the treaty, we had no hesitation in saying that our powers were ample: that on the other points proposed to us we would retire into another room, and return in a few minutes with our answer.

We committed immediately to writing the answer we proposed, in the following words: "Our powers respecting a
" treaty, are ample: but, the proposition of a loan, in the

“ form of Dutch inscriptions, or in any other form, is not
“ within the limits of our instructions; upon this point,
“ therefore, the government must be consulted: one of the
“ American ministers will, for the purpose, forthwith embark
“ for America: provided the Directory will suspend all
“ further captures on American vessels, and will suspend
“ proceedings on those already captured, as well where they
“ have been already condemned, as where the decisions have
“ not yet been rendered; and that, where sales have been
“ made, but the money not yet received by the captors, it
“ shall not be paid until the preliminary questions, proposed
“ to the ministers of the United States, be discussed and decided,” which was read as a verbal answer; and we told them, they might copy it, if they pleased. M. Y. refused to do so: his disappointment was apparent: he said, we treated the money-part of the proposition, as if it had proceeded from the Directory; whereas, in fact, it did not proceed even from the minister, but was only a suggestion from himself, as a substitute to be proposed by us, in order to avoid the painful acknowledgement that the Directory had determined to demand of us. It was told him, that we understood that matter perfectly; that we knew the proposition was in form, to be ours; but that it came substantially from the minister. We asked what had led to our present conversation? And General Pinckney then repeated the first communication from M. X. (to the whole of which, that gentleman assented) and we observed, that those gentlemen had brought no testimonials of their speaking any thing from authority; but that, relying on the fair characters they bore, we had believed them, when they said, they were from the minister, and had conversed with them in like manner, as if we were conversing with M. Talleyrand himself, and that we could not consider any suggestion M. Y. had made, as not having been previously approved of: but yet, if he did not chuse to take a memorandum in writing, of our answer, we had no wish, that he should do so: and further, if he chose to give the answer to his proposition, the form of a proposition from ourselves, we could only tell him, that we had no other proposition to make, relative to any advance of money on our part: that America had sustained deep and heavy losses by French depredations on our commerce, and that France had alleged so [many] complaints against the United States, that on those subjects we came fully prepared, and were not a little surprised to find France unwilling to hear us; and making demands upon us, which could never have

have been suspected by our government, and which had the appearance of our being the aggressing party. M. Y. expressed himself vehemently on the resentment of France; and complained, that instead of our proposing some substitute for the reparations demanded of us, we were stipulating certain conditions to be performed by the Directory itself; that he could not take charge of such propositions; and that the Directory would persist in its demand, of those reparations which he at first stated. We answered, that we could not help it: it was for the Directory to determine, what course its own honour, and the interests of France required it to pursue: it was for us to guard the interests and honour of our country. M. Y. observed, that we had taken no notice of the first proposition, which was, to know, whether we were ready to make the disavowal, reparations and explanations, concerning the President's speech. We told him, that we supposed it to be impossible, that either he, or the minister, could imagine, that such a proposition could require an answer: that we did not understand it as being seriously expected; but merely as introductory to the subjects of real consideration.

He spoke of the respect which the Directory required, and repeated, that it would exact as much as was paid to the ancient Kings. We answered, that America had demonstrated to the world, and especially to France, a much greater respect for her present government, than for her former monarchy; and, that there was no evidence of this disposition, which ought to be required, that we were not ready to give. He said, that we should certainly not be received; and seemed to shudder at the consequences. We told him, that America had made every possible effort to remain on friendly terms with France; that she was still making them; that if France would not hear us, but would make war on the United States; nothing remained for us, but to regret the unavoidable necessity of defending ourselves.

The subject of our powers was again mentioned; and, we told him, that America was solicitous to have no more misunderstandings with any Republic, but especially with France, that she wished a permanent treaty, and was sensible, that no treaty could be permanent, which did not comport with the interests of the parties; and therefore, that he might be assured, that our powers were such as authorized us to place France on equal ground with England, in any respects in which an inequality might be supposed to exist at present between them, to the disadvantage of France. The subject of
the

the *rôle d'équipage* was also mentioned; and we asked what assurance could we have, if France insisted on the right of adding to the stipulations of our treaty, or of altering them by municipal regulations, that any future treaty we could make, should be observed. M. Y. said, that he did not assert the principle of changing treaties by municipal regulations, but that the Directory considered its regulation, concerning the *rôle d'équipage*, as comports with the treaty. We observed to him, that none of our vessels had what the French termed a *rôle d'équipage*, and that if we were to surrender all the property which had been taken from our citizens, in cases where their vessels were not furnished with such a *rôle*, the government would be responsible to its citizens, for the property so surrendered; since it would be impossible to undertake to assert, that there was any plausibility in the allegation, that our treaty required a *rôle d'équipage*.

The subject of disavowals, &c. concerning the President's Speech, was again mentioned; and, it was observed, that the Constitution of the United States, authorized and required our President to communicate his ideas on the affairs of the nation; that, in obedience to the Constitution, he had done so; that we had not power to confirm, or invalidate any part of the President's Speech; that such an attempt could produce no other effect, than to make us ridiculous to the government, and to the citizens at large, of the United States; and, to produce, on the part of the President, an immediate disavowal and recall of us as his agents: that, independent of this, all America was acquainted with the facts stated by the President; and our disavowing them, would not change the public sentiment concerning them.

We parted with mutual professions of personal respect, and with full indications, on the part of M. Y. of his expectation, that we should immediately receive the threatened letter.

The nature of the above communication, will evince the necessity of secrecy; and, we have promised Messrs. X. and Y. that their names shall, in no event, be made public.

We have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, your most obedient humble servants,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
J. MARSHALL,
E. GERRY.

P. S. October 27th, 1797. The Definitive Articles of Peace are signed between the French Republic and the Emperor:

peror: the particulars you will find in the public prints. The Portuguese Minister is ordered to quit France, as the Treaty with Portugal has not been yet ratified by the Queen. The Treaty itself is declared by the Directory to be void. Since our arrival at Paris, the tribunal of cassation has rejected captain Scott's petition, complaining of the condemnation of his vessel by the civil tribunal, for the want of a *rôle d'équipage*. Mr. in behalf of the owners of the American vessels, who have appealed in the last resort to the tribunal of cassation, informs, that notwithstanding all the arguments made use of to put off the hearing of the *Rosanna*, as a diplomatic case, till the issue of our negotiations is known, that case is set down for hearing, and will come on the 29th or 30th inst. The same also says, that it is obvious, that the tribunal have received instructions from the officers of the government, to hasten their decisions, and that it was hardly worth while to for all our petitions in cassation, would be rejected. Our advocates decline giving their sentiments on this subject under an apprehension of committing themselves.

Colonel Pickering, Secretary of the United States.

Paragraphs of the PRESIDENT's Speech, referred to in Letter No. 1. under title of exhibit A.

I. With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view, the public audience, given to the late minister of the United States, on his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union; and, at the same time, studiously marked with indignities against the government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government; to persuade them, that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns; and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision, which shall convince France, and the world, that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial sense of fear, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign

reign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.

II. The diplomatic intercourse between France and the United States, being at present suspended; the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country: nevertheless, there is reason to believe, that the Executive Directory passed a decree, on the 2d of March last, contravening in part, the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

III. While we are endeavouring to adjust our differences with France, by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty, to recommend to your consideration, effectual measures of defence.

IV. It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, or the world, what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt, is not necessary. But, to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honour, and aggressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty*.

* ANSWER OF M. BARRAS,

President of the Executive Directory, to the Speech of Mr. MONROE, on taking leave, to which the Speech of the President of the United States refers.

M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,

En présentant aujourd'hui au Directoire Exécutif vos lettres de rappel, vous donnez à l'Europe une spectacle bien étrange.

La France, riche de sa liberté, entourée du cortège de ses victoires, fort de l'estime de ses alliés, ne s'abaissera pas à calculer les suites de la con-

Mr. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America,

By presenting to-day your letters of recall to the Executive Directory, you give to Europe a very strange spectacle.

France, rich in her liberty, surrounded by a crowd of victories, strong in the esteem of her allies, will not abase herself by calculating the consequences

JULY, 1798.

93

(No. 2.)

Paris, November 8th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

We now enclose you in thirty-six quarto pages of cypher, and in eight pages of cyphered exhibits, the sequel to the details commenced in No. 1. dated the 22d of last month, and have the honour to be,

Your most obedient humble servants,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
J. MARSHALL,
E. GERRY.

Colonel PICKERING.

descendance du gouvernement Américain pour les suggestions de ses anciens tyrans.... La République Française espère, au surplus, que les successeurs de Colombus, Ramhiph * et Penn, toujours fiers de leur liberté, n'oublieront jamais qu'ils la doivent à la France.....Ils peseront dans leur sagesse la magnanime bienveillance du peuple Français avec les astucieuses caresses de quelques perfides qui méditent de le ramener à son antique esclavage. Assurez, M. le Ministre, le bon peuple Américain que, comme lui, nous adorons la liberté; que toujours il aura notre estime, et qu'il trouvera, dans le peuple Français, la générosité républicaine qui sait accorder la paix comme elle sait faire respecter sa souveraineté.

Quant à vous, M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire, vous avez combattu pour les principes,

quences of the condescension of the American Government, to the suggestions of her former tyrants. Moreover, the French Republic hopes, that the successors of Columbus, Ramhiph * and Penn, always proud of their liberty, will never forget, that they owe it to France. They will weigh in their wisdom, the magnanimous benevolence of the French people, with the crafty caresses of certain perfidious persons, who meditate bringing them back to their former slavery. Assure the good American people, Sir, that like them, we adore liberty; that they will always have our esteem, and that they will find, in the French people, republican generosity, which knows how to grant peace as it does to cause its sovereignty to be respected.

As to you, Mr. Minister Plenipotentiary, you have com-

* Probably intended for Raleigh.

October 27th, 1797.

About twelve, we received another visit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the papers, and then said, that some proposals from us had been expected on the subject, on which we had before conversed; that the Directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided course, with regard to America, if we could not soften them. We answered, that on that subject we had already spoken explicitly, and had nothing farther to add. He mentioned the change in the state of things, which had been produced by the peace with the Emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged that the Directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us, and all other neutral nations, than had been before taken; that it had been determined, that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered that such an effect had already been contemplated by us, as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this proposition our decided answer; and, further, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money; that our government had not contemplated such a circumstance, in any degree whatever; that, if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France, and expose ourselves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men he said would very probably not continue long in power; and, it would be very unfortunate, if those who might succeed, with better dispositions towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that on a change of men, peace

vous avez connu les vrais intérêts de votre patrie....partez avec nos regrets. Nous rendons en vous un représentant à l'Amérique, et nous retenons le souvenir du citoyen dont les qualités personnelles honoraient ce titre.

bated for principles, you have known the true interests of your country. Depart with our regret. In you we give up a representative to America, and retain the remembrance of the citizen whose personal qualities did honour to that title.

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might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated: we added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us, than a declared war could be; that at present, our commerce was plundered unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connection with Britain; and, we answered, that we hoped so too; that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its injuries; that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. M. X. again returned to the subject of money: said he, Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point; it is money: it is expected that you will offer money. We said we had spoken to that point very explicitly: we had given an answer. No, said he, you have not; what is your answer? We replied, it is no; no; not a six-pence. He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favour. He said, we ought to consider what men we had to treat with; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them; that they disregarded their own colonies; and considered themselves as perfectly invulnerable with respect to us; that we could only acquire an interest among them, by a judicious application of money; and, it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country, did not require that these means should be resorted to. We observed, that the conduct of the French government was such, as to leave us much reason to fear, that should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. Proof of this must first be given us. He said, that when we employed a lawyer, we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cause could be gained, or not; but it was necessary to have one, and we paid for his services, whether those services were successful or not: so in the present state of things, the money must be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of those good offices. We told him, there was no parallel in the cases; that a lawyer, not being to render the judgment, could not command success: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and consequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours: but the Directory could decide on the issue of our negotiation.

It had only to order that no more American vessels should be seized, and to direct those now in custody to be restored, and there could be no opposition to the order. He said, that all the members of the Directory were not disposed to receive our money: that Merlin, for instance, was paid from another quarter, and would touch no part of the *douceur*, which was to come from us. We replied, that we had understood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an assent to the fact. He proceeded to press this subject with vast perseverance. He told us, that we paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines, and with the Indians; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was answered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either Algiers, or the Indian tribes, it was understood, that money was to form the basis of the treaty, and was its essential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of course; but, that in treating with France, our government had supposed that a proposition, such as he spoke of, would, if made by us, give mortal offence. He asked, if our government did not know, that nothing was to be obtained here, without money? We replied, that our government had not even suspected such a state of things. He appeared surprised at it, and said, there was not an American in Paris, who could not have given that information. We told him, that the letters of our Minister had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France; and had represented it as acting entirely upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and disinterested affection for America. He looked somewhat surprised, and said briskly to General Pinckney: well, Sir, you have been a long time in France, and in Holland; what do you think of it? General Pinckney answered, that he considered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth, and of consequence, he could have but one opinion on the subject. He stated, that Hamburgh, and other states of Europe, were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our interest, to do so. Once more, he spoke of the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could resist. We told him, that it would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the solicitude we felt, to avoid a contest with it; that no nation estimated her power more highly than America, or wished more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was still dearer to us than the friendship of France, which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral station: she had a right to take it:

no nation had a right to force us out of it: that to lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in every thing requisite for war but money, was to relinquish our neutrality, and take part in the war: to lend this money under the lash and coercion of France, was to relinquish the government of ourselves, and to submit to a foreign government imposed upon us by force: that we would make at least one manly struggle, before we thus surrendered our national independence: that our case was different from that of one of the minor nations of Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so: America was a great, and, so far as concerned her self-defence, a powerful nation; she was able to maintain her independence; and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her: that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the last hundred, and might probably be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives which could induce her to involve herself in those wars; and that if she now preserved her neutrality and her independence, it was most probable that she would not, in future, be afraid, as she had been for four years past: but, if she now surrendered her rights of self-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, she could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He said, that France had lent us money during our revolution war, and only required that we should now exhibit the same friendship for her. We answered, that the cases were very different; that America solicited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or refuse it: but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the subject. We also told him, there was another difference in the cases; that the money was lent by France, for great national and French objects; it was lent to maintain a rival and an enemy, whom she hated: that the money, if lent by America, would not be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend still further her conquests. The conversation continued for nearly two hours; and the public and private advance of money was pressed and repressed in a variety of forms. At length M. X. said, that he did not blame us; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it: but he shewed decidedly his opinion to be that we could not keep it. He said, that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our conversation to the Minister, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the Minister; we are not certain which. We then separated. On the 22d of

October, M. Z. a French Gentleman of respectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, Minister of foreign relations, who professed to be well disposed towards the United States, had expected to have seen the American Ministers frequently in their private capacities; and to have conferred with them individually, on the objects of their mission; and had authorized M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter sent for his colleagues; and a conference was held with M. Z. on the subject; in which General Pinckney and General Marshall expressed their opinions, that not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand, they could not, with propriety, call on him; but that, according to the custom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This, Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23d, and with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who, not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the first introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He said, that the Directory had passed an *arrêté*, which he offered for perusal, in which they had demanded of the envoys, an explanation of some parts, and a reparation for others, of the President's speech to Congress, of the 16th of May last: he was sensible, he said, that difficulties would exist on the part of the envoys, relative to this demand; but that by their offering money, he thought he could prevent the effect of the *arrêté*. M. Z. at the request of Mr. Gerry, having stated that the envoys have no such powers, M. Talleyrand replied, they can in such case take a power on themselves; and proposed, that they should make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addressed M. Talleyrand, distinctly in English, which he said, he understood, and stated, that the uneasiness of the Directory, resulting from the President's speech, was a subject unconnected with the objects of the mission; that M. Barras, in his speech to Mr. Munroe, on his recal, had expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the government and citizens of the United States; that the President, as the envoys conceived, had made such observations on M. Barras' speech, as were necessary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not considered by our government as a subject of dispute between the two nations; that having no instructions respecting it, we could not make any explanations, or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himself, was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the United States, to be convinced of the truth of these observations. Mr. Gerry further stated, that the powers

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of the envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the discussion and adjustment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty; or, if necessary, form a new one; that the United States were anxiously desirous of removing all causes of complaint, between themselves and France, and of renewing their former friendship and intercourse, on terms which should be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations; but not on any other terms; that as to a loan, we had no powers whatever to make one; that if we were to attempt it, we should deceive himself and the Directory likewise, which, as men of honour, we could not do; but, that we could send one of our number for instructions on this proposition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negotiation could be discussed and adjusted; that as he had expressed a desire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wish of Mr. Gerry, that such a conference should take place, and their opinions thus be ascertained, which he conceived corresponded with his own, in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in answer said, he should be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter about the money must be settled directly, without sending to America; that he would not communicate the *arrêté* for a week; and, that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would, nevertheless, go to the United States for a loan. A courier arriving at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and desired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry, what he, M. Talleyrand had said to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z., took down the particulars of this interview, as before stated, sent for Generals Pinckney and Marshall, and read it to them in the presence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marshall, then desired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand, that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the *arrêté* might be delayed on their account.

October 29th.

M. X. again called on us. He said, M. Talleyrand was extremely anxious to be of service to us, and had requested that one more effort should be made to induce us to enable him to be so. A great deal of the same conversation which had passed at our former interviews was repeated. The

power and the haughtiness of France was again displayed to us. We were told, that the destruction of England was inevitable; and that the wealth and arts of that nation, would naturally pass over to America, if that event should find us in peace. To this observation, we replied, that France would probably forbid America to receive them, in like manner, as she had forbid Switzerland to permit the residence in its country, of a British minister. We told him also, that we were sensible of the value of peace, and therefore sought it unremittingly, but that it was real peace we sought for, and real peace only which could be desirable.

The sum of his proposition was, that if we would pay, by way of fees (that was his expression) the sum of money demanded for private use, the Directory would not receive us, but would permit us to remain in Paris as we now were; and we should be received by M. Talleyrand, until one of us could go to America and consult our government on the subject of the loan. These were the circumstances, he said, under which the minister of Portugal had treated. We asked him, if, in the mean time, the Directory would order the American property, not yet passed into the hands of the privateers-men, to be restored? He said, explicitly, that they would not. We asked him, whether they would suspend further depredations on our commerce? He said, they would not: but, M. Talleyrand observed, that, on this subject, we could not suffer much additional injury, because the winter season was approaching, when few additional captures could be made. We told him, that France had taken violently from America, more than fifteen millions of dollars, and treated us in every respect as enemies, in return for the friendship we had manifested for her; that we had come to endeavour to restore harmony to the two nations, and to obtain compensation for the injuries our countrymen had sustained; and, that in lieu of this compensation, we were told, that if we would pay twelve hundred thousand livres, we might be permitted to remain in Paris; which would only give us the benefit of seeing the plays and operas of Paris for the winter, that we might have time to ask from our country to exhaust her resources for France, whose depredations would be continued. He again stated, that by this procedure, we should suspend a war; and that perhaps in five or six months power might change hands.

We told him that what we wished to see in France, was a temper sincerely friendly to the United States, and really disposed to do us justice; that if we could perceive this, we
might

might not so much regard a little money, such as he stated to be usual, although we should hazard ourselves by giving it; but that we saw only evidences of the most extreme hostility toward us: war was made upon us so far as France could make it in the present state of things; and it was not even proposed, that on receiving our money this war should cease: we had no reason to believe that a possible benefit could result from it: and we desired him to say that we would not give a shilling, unless American property unjustly captured was previously restored, and further hostilities suspended; and that unless this was done, we did not conceive that we could even consult our government concerning a loan; that if the Directory would receive us and commence negotiations, and any thing occurred which rendered a consultation of the government necessary, one of us would return to America for that purpose. He said that without this money we should be obliged to quit Paris; and that we ought to consider the consequences: the property of the Americans would be confiscated, and their vessels in port embargoed. We told him, that unless there was a hope of a real reconciliation, these evils could not be prevented by us; and the little delay we might obtain would only increase them, that our mission had induced many of our countrymen to trust their vessels in the ports of France, and that if we remained in Paris, that very circumstance would increase the number; and consequently the injury which our countrymen would sustain, if France could permit herself so to violate her own engagements and the laws of nations. He expressed a wish, that M. Y. should see us once more. We told him that a visit from M. Y. as a private gentleman, would always be agreeable to us; but if he came only with the expectation that we should stipulate advances of money, without previously establishing a solid and permanent reconciliation, he might save himself the trouble of the application, because it was a subject we had considered maturely, and on which we were immoveable. He parted with us, saying, if that was the case, it would not be worth while for M. Y. to come. In the evening, while Gen. Pinckney and Gen. Marshall were absent, M. Y. and M. X. called, and were invited by Mr. Gerry to breakfast with us the next morning.

October 30th.

Immediately after breakfast the subject was resumed. M. Y. spoke without interruption for near an hour. He said
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that he was desirous of making a last effort to serve us, by proposing something which might accommodate the differences between the two nations; that what he was now about to mention, had not by any means the approbation of the Directory; nor could M. Talleyrand undertake further than to make from us the proposition to the Directory, and use his influence for its success: that last week M. Talleyrand could not have ventured to have offered such propositions; but that his situation had been very materially changed by the peace with the emperor: by that peace he had acquired in a high degree the confidence of the Directory, and now possessed great influence with that body; that he was also closely connected with Bonaparte and the generals of the army in Italy; and was to be considered as firmly fixed in his post, at least for five or six months: that under these circumstances he could undertake to offer, in our behalf, propositions which before this increase of influence he could not have hazarded. M. Y. then called our attention to our own situation, and to the force France was capable of bringing to bear upon us. He said that we were the best judges of our capacity to resist, so far as depended on our own resources, and ought not to deceive ourselves on so interesting a subject. The fate of Venice was one which might befall the United States. But he proceeded to observe, it was probable we might rely on forming a league with England. If we had such a reliance it would fail us. The situation of England was such as to compel Pitt to make peace on the terms of France. A variety of causes were in operation which made such an effect absolutely certain. To say nothing of the opposition in England to the minister and to the war, an opposition which the fears of the nation would increase; to say nothing of a war against England which was preparing in the north; an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of Bonaparte, spread upon the coast of France, and aided by all the vast resources of his genius, would most probably be enabled to invade England; in which event their government would be overturned: but should this invasion not be absolutely effected, yet the alarm it would spread through the nation, the enormous expense it must produce, would infallibly ruin them, if it was to be continued; and would drive them to save themselves by a peace: that independent of this, France possessed means which would infallibly destroy their bank and their whole paper system. He said he knew very well it was generally conjectured that Bonaparte would not leave Italy

Italy and the army which had conquered under him and which adored him: he assured [us that] nothing could be more unfounded than the conjecture, that Bonaparte had for more than ten days left Italy for Rastadt, to preside over the congress which was formed for adjusting the affairs of the empire. He said that Pitt himself was so confident of the absolute necessity of peace, that after the naval victory over the Dutch, he had signified his readiness to treat on the same terms which he had offered before that action: we could not then rely on the assistance of England. What, he asked, would be our situation if peace should be made with England before our difference with France would be accommodated? But, he continued, if even England should be able to continue the war, and America should unite with her, it would not be in our power to injure France. We might, indeed, wound her ally; but if we did it would be so much the worse for us. After having stated the dangers attending us, if we should engage in the war, he proceeded to the advantages we might derive from a neutral situation: and insisted at large on the wealth which would naturally flow into our country from the destruction of England. He next proceeded to detail the propositions which are in substance in the paper annexed, marked (A.) except that he insisted that we should engage to use our influence with our government for the loan. He stated expressly, that the propositions were to be considered as made by us; that M. Talleyrand would not be responsible for the success of any one of them; he would only undertake to use his influence with the Directory in support of them. The proposition, he said, concerning a suspension of hostilities on the part of France, was one which proceeded entirely from himself; M. Talleyrand had not been consulted upon it; and he could not undertake to say, that that gentleman would consent even to lay it before the Directory. The proposition for an advance to the government of France of as much money as was due from it to our citizens on contract, and as might be determined to be due for vessels improperly captured and condemned, was, he said, indispensable: unless we made that it was unnecessary to make any other; for the others would not be received. He expatiated on the vast advantages we should derive from delay: it was, he said, absolutely to gain our cause. He returned to the danger of our situation and the policy of making with France any accommodation which France would assent to. "Perhaps," said he, "you believe that in returning
" and exposing to your countrymen the unreasonableness of

“ the demands of this government, *you will unite them in*
 “ *their resistance to those demands: you are mistaken: you*
 “ *ought to know that the diplomatic skill of France and*
 “ *the means she possesses in your country, are sufficient to*
 “ *enable her, with the French party in America, to throw*
 “ *the blame which will attend the rupture of the negotiations*
 “ *on the Federalists,”* as you term yourselves, but on the
 British party, as France terms you; and you may assure
 yourselves this will be done. He concluded with declarations
 of being perfectly disinterested; and declared that his only
 motives for speaking thus freely were his friendship for M.
 Talleyrand, and his wish to promote the interests and peace
 of the United States. We told him that the freedom with
 which he had spoken, and which was agreeable to us, would
 induce us to speak freely also; and for once to accompany
 our view of the present state of things with a retrospect of
 the past: that America was the only nation upon earth
 which felt and had exhibited a real friendship for the Repub-
 lic of France: that among the empires round her, which
 were compelled to bend beneath her power and to obey her
 commands, there was not one which had voluntarily ac-
 knowledged her government, or manifested for it, sponta-
 neously, any mark of regard: America alone had stepped
 forward and given the most unequivocal proofs of a pure and
 sincere friendship, at a time when almost the whole Euro-
 pean world, when Austria, Germany, Prussia, Russia, Spain,
 Sardinia, Holland, and Britain, were leagued against France:
 when her situation was in truth hazardous, and it was dan-
 gerous to hold even friendly intercourse with her, America
 alone stood forward, and openly and boldly avowed her en-
 thusiasm in favour of the Republic, and her deep and sin-
 cere interest in its fate. From that time to the present, the
 government and people of the United States have uniformly
 manifested a sincere and ardent friendship for France, and
 have, as they conceive, in no single instance given to this
 Republic just cause of umbrage: if they have done so, they
 wish it to be pointed out to them. After the determination
 of France to break off all regular intercourse with them,
 they have sent three Envoys Extraordinary to endeavour to
 make such explanations as might produce reconciliation: these
 envoys are prepared to investigate, and wish to investi-
 gate any measures which may have given offence; and are
 persuaded that they can entirely justify the conduct of their
 government. To this distant, unoffending, friendly Re-
 public, what is the conduct and the language of France?

Wherever

Wherever our property can be found she seizes and takes it from us ; unprovoked, she determines to treat us as enemies, and our making no resistance produces no diminution of hostility against us ; she abuses and insults our government, endeavours to weaken it in the estimation of the people, recalls her own minister, refuses to receive ours, and when extraordinary means are taken to make such explanations as may do away misunderstandings, and such alterations in the existing relations of the two countries as may be mutually satisfactory and may tend to produce harmony, the Envoys who bear these powers are not received ; they are not permitted to utter the amicable wishes of their country ; but, in the haughty style of a master, they are told that unless they will pay a sum to which their resources scarcely extend, that they may expect the vengeance of France, and like Venice be erased from the list of nations ; that France will annihilate the only free Republic upon earth, and the only nation in the universe, which has voluntarily manifested for her a cordial and real friendship ! What impression must this make on the mind of America, if without provocation France was determined to make war upon us, unless we purchased peace ? We could not easily believe, that even our money would save us : our independence would never cease to give offence, and would always furnish a pretext for fresh demands. On the advantages of neutrality, it was unnecessary to say any thing : all the efforts of our government were exerted to maintain it ; and we would never willingly part with it. With respect to a political connexion with Britain, we told him that America had never contemplated it. Whether the danger he represented that government to be in was or was not real, we should not undertake to decide : Britain we believed had much reason to wish for peace ; and France had much reason to wish for peace also : if peace already existed, it would not change the course America would pursue. M. Y. manifested the most excessive impatience : he interrupted us and said, This eloquent dissertation might be true : America might have manifested, and he believed had manifested great friendship for France, and had just complaints against her ; but he did not come to listen to those complaints. The Minister would, on our request, make for us certain propositions to the Directory ; he had stated them to us ; and all the answer he wished was, yes, or no ; did we or did we not solicit the Minister to make the propositions for us ? We told him, that without going further into the discussion, we choose to remark one or two things : they were, that the existing treaties gave
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to France certain advantages which were very essential; that especially the American coast afforded a protection near two thousand miles in extent to the prizes made by France on her enemies, and refused that protection to the prizes taken from her; that she might be assured, that in case of war, these advantages would be lost for ever. We also told him, we were convinced that France miscalculated on the parties in America: that the extreme injustice offered to our country, would unite every man against her. M. X. informed us, that M. Talleyrand would not consent even to lay this proposition before the Directory, without previously receiving the fifty thousand pounds, or the greater part of it. M. Y. left in writing, his propositions, and we returned the answer annexed and marked (B.)

November 1st.

It was at length agreed, that we would hold no more indirect intercourse with the government.

November 3d.

M. X. called on us, and told General Pinckney and General Marshall, (Mr. Gerry not being within) that M. Y. wished once more to see us. We answered, that we should at any time be glad to see M. Y. as a private gentleman: but that if his object was only to repeat his propositions for money, it was perfectly unnecessary to do so; because, on that subject, it was impossible for us to change the answer we had already given. We told him further, that we considered it as degrading our country, to carry on further, such an indirect intercourse as we had for some time submitted to, and had determined to receive no propositions, unless the persons who bore them had acknowledged authority to treat with us. He said, that perhaps M. Y. might have written powers from the Minister; and, we replied, that if he had, we should receive his communications with pleasure. He spoke of a probable peace with England, and, having requested us to be at home in the afternoon, left us.

About three o'clock he came, and, after some conversation, in which we repeated in substance, what is stated above, he shewed us a paper, which he said was a copy of a letter prepared for us, by M. Talleyrand, requesting an explanation of part of the President's speech, and which he said, would be sent, unless we came into the propositions which had been made us. We wished to take a copy of it, which he declined permitting, saying, he was forbidden to allow it. We spoke of the letter coming to us as a measure we had no expectation of preventing; and he said, he could not understand

stand that we wished it delayed. To which we answered, that the delay of a few days could not be desired, unless a hope existed, that the Directory might become more friendly to our country. He said, that intelligence had been received from the United States, that if Colonel Burr and Mr. Madison had constituted the mission, the differences between the two nations, would have been accommodated before this time. He added, as a fact, he was not instructed to communicate, that M. Talleyrand was preparing a memorial to be sent out to the United States, complaining of us as being unfriendly to an accommodation with France. We replied to his intelligence from the United States, that the Minister's correspondents in America, took a good deal on themselves, when they undertook to say, how the Directory would have received Colonel Burr and Mr. Madison; and that with respect to the memorial of M. Talleyrand, it would not be easy for him to convince our countrymen, that the statements we should make, were untrue: if, however, we were confident that our conduct would be condemned, M. Talleyrand might be assured, that the fear of censure would not induce us to deserve it: but that we should act in a manner which our own judgments and consciences would approve of; and, we trusted, we should be supported by the great body of candid and honest men. In this conversation, we again stated, that America had taken a neutral position; that she had faithfully sought to preserve it; that a loan of money to one of the belligerent powers, was directly to take part in the war; and that to take part in the war, against her own judgment and will, under the coercion of France, was to surrender our independence.

EXHIBIT A.—[*Enclosed in the Envoy's Letter of November 8th, 1797. No. 2.*]

I. The American Envoys shall remain here for six months, in the same manner, and upon the same footing, with regard to etiquette, as did M. d'Aranjo, the envoy of Portugal.

II. There shall be named a commission of five members, agreeably to a form to be established, for the purpose of deciding upon the reclamations of the Americans, relative to the prizes made on them by the French privateers.

III. The American Envoys will engage, that their government shall pay the indemnifications, on the amount of the sums already decreed to the American creditors of the French Republic, and those which shall be adjudged to the claimants
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by the Commissioners. This payment shall be made, under the name of an advance to the French Republic, who shall repay it in a time and manner to be agreed upon.

IV. One of the American Envoys shall return to America, to demand of his government the necessary powers to purchase, for cash, the thirty-two millions of Dutch rescriptions, belonging to the French Republic, in case the Envoys should conclude a treaty which shall be approved by the two nations.

V. In the interval, the definitive treaty shall proceed for the termination of all differences existing between the French Republic and the United States, so as that the treaty may be concluded immediately on the return of the Deputy.

VI. The question of the *rôle d'équipage* shall remain suspended, until the return of the Deputy, and the commission shall not pronounce upon any reclamation, where this point shall be in question.

VII. During the six months granted for the going and returning of the Deputy, hostilities against the Americans shall be suspended, as well as the process for condemnation, before the tribunals; and the money of the prizes already condemned, in the hands of the civil officers of the nation, shall remain there, without being delivered to the privateers-men, until the return of the Deputy.

EXHIBIT B.—[*Received with the Envoy's Letter,*
No. 2. dated 8th November, 1797.]

The Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States, cannot avoid observing the very unusual situation in which they are placed by the manner in which they are alone permitted to make communications on the objects of their mission: They are called upon to pledge their country to a very great amount, to answer demands which appear to them as extraordinary as they were unexpected, without being permitted to discuss the reason, the justice, or the policy on which those demands are founded, and not only without assurances that the rights of the United States will, in future, be respected; but, without a document to prove that those to whom they are required to open themselves without reserve, and at whose instance they are called on to sacrifice so much, are empowered, even by the minister, to hold any communication with them: Yet such is the anxious and real solicitude of the Envoys, to seize any occasion which may afford a hope, however distant, of coming
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to those explanations which they so much wish to make with this Republic, that they pass over the uncommon and informal modes which have been adopted, and will only consider the propositions themselves.

I. The ministers of the United States will permit no personal considerations to influence their negotiations with the French Republic. Although they expected that the extraordinary means adopted by their government, to reconcile itself to that of France, would have been received with some degree of attention, yet they are too solicitous to enter upon the important and interesting duty of their mission, to permit themselves to be restrained by forms or etiquette.

II. On this article it is believed, there can be no disagreement.

III. This article, as explained, would oblige the United States to advance, not to their own citizens, but to the government of France, sums equivalent to the depredations made by the corsairs of the Republic, on the American commerce, and to the contracts made with their citizens by France; and this advance, instead of benefiting the citizens of the United States, would leave them precisely what they now are, the creditors of the French Republic: the more extensive the depredations, and the more considerable the contracts uncomplished with, the more would the government of France receive from the United States. Independent of these objections, the Ministers of the United States, cannot engage to assume, in any form, the debts due from France to their fellow-citizens: they have no such power.

IV. If the negotiations be opened, and the propositions for a loan, or any other propositions, exceeding the powers of the Ministers, be made, the government of the United States will be consulted thereon with expedition.

V. This, or any proposition having for its object the claims of the two nations on each other, or an accommodation of differences, will be embraced with ardour by the Ministers of the United States.

VI. It cannot escape notice, that the question of the *rôle d'équipage*, may involve in it every vessel taken from the United States; the Ministers however consider it, and wish to take it up, as a subject of negotiation.

VII. On this article it is only to be observed, that the season of the year is such, as probably to render a return, within six months, of the Envoy, who might sail to the
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United States, impracticable: provision should be made for such an event.

If the difficulties attending the propositions for a loan, and a compensation for past injuries be such as to require time for their removal, the Ministers of the United States propose, that the discussions on the relative situation of the two countries, may commence in the usual forms; that the relation to each other may be so regulated, as to obviate future misunderstandings; and that the adjustment of the claims of the citizens of the United States, whose vessels have been captured, may be made after a decision on the point first mentioned.

No diplomatic gratification can precede the ratification of the treaty.

(No. 3.)

Paris, November 27th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

On the 11th instant, we transmitted the following official letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

“CITIZEN MINISTER,

“The undersigned Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to the French Republic, had the honour of announcing to you officially, on the sixth of October, their arrival at Paris, and of presenting to you, on the eighth, a copy of their letters of credence. Your declaration at that time, that a report on American affairs was then preparing, and would in a few days be laid before the Directory, whose decision thereon should, without delay, be made known, has hitherto imposed silence on them. For this communication, they have waited with that anxious solicitude which so interesting an event could not fail to excite, and with that respect, which is due to the government of France. They have not yet received it, and so much time has been permitted to elapse, so critical is the situation of many of their countrymen, and so embarrassing is that of the undersigned, both as it respects themselves and the government they represent, that they can no longer dispense with the duty of soliciting your attention to their mission.

“The United States, Citizen Minister, at an epoch which
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evinced their sincerity, have given incontestable proofs of their ardent friendship, of their affection for the French Republic: these were the result, not of her unparalleled prowess and power, but of their confidence in her justice and magnanimity; and in such high estimation was the *reciprocity* of her friendship held by them, as to have been a primary object of national concern. The preservation of it was dear to them; the loss of it a subject of unfeigned regret, and the recovery of it by every measure, which shall consist with the rights of an independent nation, engages their constant attention. The government of the United States, we are authorized to declare, has examined, with the most scrupulous justice, its conduct towards its former friend. It has been led to this by a sincere desire to remove of itself every just cause of complaint; conceiving that, with the most upright intentions, such cause may possibly exist; and, although the strictest search has produced no self reproach, although the government is conscious, that it has uniformly sought to preserve, with fidelity, its engagements to France; yet, far from wishing to exercise the privilege of judging for itself, on its own course of reasoning, and the lights in its own possession, it invites fair and candid discussion; it solicits a reconsideration of the past; it is persuaded, its intentions, its views, and its actions must have been misrepresented and misunderstood; it is convinced, that the essential interests of both nations, will be promoted by reconciliation and peace, and it cherishes the hope of meeting with similar dispositions on the part of the Directory.

“ Guided by these sentiments, the President of the United States has given it in charge to the undersigned, to state to the Executive Directory, the deep regret which he feels at the loss or suspension of the harmony and friendly intercourse which subsisted between the two republics, and his sincere wish to restore them; to discuss candidly the complaints of France, and to offer frankly those of the United States; and he has authorized a review of existing treaties, and such alterations thereof as shall consist with the mutual interest and satisfaction of the contracting parties.

“ This task the undersigned are anxious to commence; and truly happy will they be, if their exertions can, in any degree, contribute to restore that friendship, that mutual interchange of good offices, which it is alike their wish and their duty to effect, between the citizens of the two republics.

“ The

“ The undersigned pray you, Citizen Minister, to present this communication to the Executive Directory, and to receive the assurances of their most perfect consideration.”

(Signed) “ CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

“ J. MARSHALL,

“ E. GERRY.”

“ *Paris, November 11th, in the 22d year }
of the American Independence.*”

“ To the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
of the French Republic.”

No answer having been given to it, on the 21st instant, we requested Major Rutledge to wait on the Minister, and inquire of him, whether he had communicated the letter to the Directory, and whether we might expect an answer: he replied, that he had submitted our letter to them, and that they would direct him what steps to pursue, of which we should be informed. We have not, however, hitherto received any official intimation, relative to this business: we are not yet received, and the condemnation of our vessels for want of a *rôle d'équipage*, is unremittingly continued. Frequent and urgent attempts have been made, to inveigle us again into negotiation with persons not officially authorized, of which the obtaining of money is the basis; but we have persisted in declining to have any further communication relative to diplomatic business, with persons of that description; and we mean to adhere to this determination. We are sorry to inform you, that the present disposition of the government of this country, appears to be as unfriendly towards ours as ever, and that we have very little prospect of succeeding in our mission.

We have the honour to be

Your most obedient humble servants,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,

J. MARSHALL,

E. GERRY.

Colonel PICKERING.

JULY, 1798.

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(No. 4.)

Paris, December 24th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

We have not yet received any answer to our official letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated the eleventh of last month, and mentioned in number three: but reiterated attempts have been made to engage us in negotiation with persons not officially authorized; and you will find by the exhibits marked A, B, and C, herewith sent, some important information relative to the views and intentions of the French government, with respect to ours. We are all of opinion, that if we were to remain here for six months longer, without we were to stipulate the payment of money, and a great deal of it, in some shape or other, we should not be able to effectuate the objects of our mission, should we be even officially received: unless the projected attempt on England was to fail, or a total change take place in the persons who at present direct the affairs of this government. In this situation of matters, we are determined, by the tenth of next month, should they remain as they are, to transmit another letter to the minister, representing, as far as may be expedient, the views of our government.

We have the honour to be,

With great respect and regard,

Your most obedient humble servants,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,

J. MARSHALL,

E. GERRY.

Col. PICKERING,
Secretary of State,

EXHIBIT A.—[*Inclosed in the Envoys' Letter, No. 4.*]

On the 14th of December, M. X. called on me, in order, as he said, to gain some information relative to some lands in purchased by for whom Soon afterwards, General Marshall came in, and then Mr. Gerry's carriage drove into the yard. Here's Mr. Gerry,

said General Marshall. I am glad of it, said M. X., for I wished to meet all of you gentlemen, to inform you, that M. Y. had another message to you, from M. Talleyrand. I immediately expressed my surprise at it, as M. Talleyrand, M. Y. and he, all knew our determination, to have no further communication on the subject of our mission, with persons not officially authorized. He replied, that determination was made six weeks ago; and it was presumed, that we had changed our opinion. I said, that I had not; and, I did not believe my colleagues had. At that moment, Mr. Gerry entered the room, and I privately acquainted him with the object of M. X.'s visit. General Marshall, Mr. Gerry, and myself, then withdrew into another room; and immediately agreed to adhere to our former resolution. M. X. was then called in; when I acquainted him, in a few words, with our determination: and Mr. Gerry expatiated more at large on the propriety of our acting in this manner, and, on the very unprecedented way in which we had been treated, since our arrival.

On the twentieth of December, a lady, who is well acquainted with M. Talleyrand, expressed to me her concern, that we were still in so unsettled a situation: but, adds she, why will not you lend us money? If you would but make us a loan, all matters would be adjusted: and, she added, when you were contending for your revolution, we lent you money. I mentioned the very great difference there was between the situation of the two countries at that period, and the present; and the very different circumstances under which the loan was made to us, and the loan was now demanded from us. She replied, we do not make a demand; we think it more delicate, that the offer should come from you: but, M. Talleyrand has mentioned to me (who am surely not in his confidence) the necessity of your making us a loan: and I know that he has mentioned it to two or three others; and that you have been informed of it: and, I will assure you, that if you remain here six months longer, you would not advance a single step further in your negotiations, without a loan. If that is the case, I replied, we may as well go away now. Why, that possibly, said she, might lead to a rupture, which you had better avoid: for, we know we have a very considerable party in America, who are strongly in our interest.—There is no occasion to enter into a further detail of the conversation. I have only noted this part of it as expressive of what I believe (as far as relates to the loan and
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a party in America in their favour) to be the sentiments of the French government with regard to us.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

December 21st, 1797.

EXHIBIT B.—[*Inclosed in the Envoys' Letter, No. 4.*]

Extraet from General Marshall's Journal.

December 17th, 1797. I stepped into Mr. Gerry's apartment, where I saw M. Y. He expressed his regret at having been disabled to dine with us at M. de Beaumarchais, by an inveterate tooth-ache. He then asked me, whether I had seen M. de Beaumarchais lately? I told him, not since he dined with us; and, that he had left us much indisposed. He then observed, that he had not known until lately, that I was the advocate for that gentleman, in his cause against the state of Virginia; and that M. de Beaumarchais, in consequence of that circumstance, had expressed sentiments of high regard for me. I replied, that M. de Beaumarchais' cause was of great magnitude, very uncertain issue,—and consequently, that a portion of the interest he felt in it would very naturally be transferred to his advocate. He immediately said, (low and apart) that M. de Beaumarchais had consented, provided his claim could be established, to sacrifice fifty thousand pounds sterling of it, as the private gratification which had been required of us: so that the gratification might be made without any actual loss to the American Government. I answered, that a gratification on any terms, or in any form, was a subject which we approached with much fear and difficulty, as we were not authorized by our government to make one; nor had it been expected, that one would be necessary: that I could not undertake to say, whether my colleagues would consent to it, in any state of things; but I could undertake to say, no one of us would consent to it, unless it was preceded or accompanied by a full and entire recognition of the claims of our citizens, and a satisfactory arrangement on the objects of our mission. He said, it was in the expectation of that event only, that he mentioned it. We parted: and I stated the conversation to General Pinckney, who was disinclined to any stipulation of the sort, and considered it as a renewal of the old reprobated system of indirect, unauthorized negotiation.

Having been originally the counsel of M. de Beaumarchais, I had determined, and so I informed General Pinckney, that I would not, by my voice, establish any agreement in his favour; but that I would positively oppose any admission of the claim of any French citizen, if not accompanied with the admission of the claims of the American citizens of property captured and condemned for want of a *rôle d'équipage*. My reason for conceiving, that this ought to be stipulated expressly, was a conviction, that if it was referred to commissioners, it would be committing absolutely to chance as complete a right as any individuals ever possessed. General Pinckney was against admitting the claim at any rate.

After my return, Mr. Gerry came into my room, and told me, that M. Y. had called on him, to accompany him on a visit to M. Talleyrand; that he proposed seeing M. Talleyrand, and returning the civility of the dinner; and endeavouring to bring about some intercourse between him and us.

December 18. General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry met in my room; and Mr. Gerry detailed to us, the conversations mentioned in our public letter. The proposition relative to the claim of M. de Beaumarchais, is entirely different from my understanding of it, in the very brief statement made to me by M. Y. We resolved, that we would rigidly adhere to the rule we had adopted, to enter into no negotiation with persons not formally authorized to treat with us. We came also to the determination, to prepare a letter to the Minister of Foreign Relations, stating the object of our mission, and discussing the subjects of difference between the two nations, in like manner, as if we had been actually received; and to close the letter with requesting the government to open the negotiation with us, or to grant us our passports.

EXHIBIT C.—[*Inclosed in the Envoys' Letter, No. 4.*]

December 13. Mr. Gerry accidentally calling on General Pinckney, found M. X., and was soon informed that his object was to obtain another interview between the Ministers and M. Y. on the affairs of their mission. General Marshall happening also to be there, we retired into another room, and immediately agreed to adhere to our former determination, not to have any more informal communications. M. X. having been called in, General Pinckney briefly communicated our determination: and Mr. Gerry observed, that he

was much hurt by this proposition; that the Ministers had already proceeded farther in this mode of communication, than perhaps they could justify; that they had refused, six weeks ago, to renew it; and that some regard ought to be paid to their feelings, which had been sufficiently mortified; that the proposition was disrespectful to the Envoys, as it betrayed a belief that they had lost the sense of their dignity, and were indeed incompetent to their office; that had there been but one Envoy extraordinary, he ought to have had an audience in a few days; and that for three to remain, between two and three months in this situation, was too humiliating, too debasing for any nation to submit to it; that for his own part, had he been sent to any other nation in Europe, with two other Envoys, he would not have consented to have remained in such a state ten days; that knowing the great desire of the government and nation of the United States, to be at peace with France, he had, with his colleagues, submitted to this indignity, at the risk of the severe censure of the former.—Having also enquired of M. X. at what time M. Talleyrand could be seen, the former said, he would enquire of M. Y. who, on the 16th in the evening, sent, in Mr. Gerry's absence from his lodgings, a billet as follows: "M. Y. has the honour to present his respects to Mr. Gerry, and to inform him, that he will have the honour to wait on him to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, to go together to the Minister of Foreign Relations. He is with respect," &c. On the morning of the 17th, M. Y. came in, while Mr. Gerry was at breakfast, not having received an answer to his note: and Mr. Marshall coming in, M. Y. took him aside, and conferred with him a considerable time; after which, the former and the rest of the family left the room: and M. Y. and Mr. Gerry being together, Mr. Gerry told him, that his object in seeing M. Talleyrand, was to return a civility, by requesting him to fix a day for dining with Mr. G. who intended to invite his colleagues; by this interview, to promote, if possible, a better understanding between the Minister and the American Envoys; and Mr. G. also proposed to confer with the Minister on the disagreeable situation the Envoys were in, and to state to him some reports which appeared to be founded, respecting a proposition before the Directory, for sending off all Americans in a short period: but Mr. Gerry added, that he could not hear a word on the subject of the mission, or the preliminaries to a negotiation; as the Envoys had determined unanimously against any informal communications on the subject.

subject. M. Y. in answer said, that Mr. Marshall had just heard him, on a subject of this kind; and that we might consider it, as he did, merely as a conversation between ourselves. He then stated, that two measures, which M. Talleyrand proposed, being adopted, a restoration of friendship between the republics, would follow immediately; the one was a gratuity of fifty thousand pounds sterling, the other a purchase of thirty-two millions of the Dutch rescptions: that, as to the first, M. de Beaumarchais had recovered in a cause depending in Virginia, between that state and himself, one hundred forty-five thousand pounds sterling; that there was an appeal from the judgment; that he would sign an act to relinquish forty-five thousand pounds, if the whole should be finally recovered, leaving only one hundred thousand pounds for himself; that the forty-five thousand pounds might accrue to the United States, who would, in that case, lose but a small part of the fifty thousand pounds; that the purchase of sixteen millions of rescptions, would amount to but one million three hundred thirty-three thousand [pounds] six shillings and eight-pence sterling, which, with an interest of five *per cent*, would be certainly paid by the government of Holland, to the United States, and leave them without any loss; that more than half the sum may now be hired in Holland, on the credit of the rescptions, and an easy arrangement be made for payment by short instalments, which might be obtained also by a loan; that it was worthy the attention of the Envoys to consider, whether by so small a sacrifice they would establish a peace with France, or whether they would risk the consequences; that if nothing could be done by the Envoys, arrangement would be made forthwith to ravage the coasts of the United States by frigates from St. Domingo; that small states which had offended France, were suffering by it; that Hamburgh and other cities in that quarter would, within a month or two, have their governments changed; that Switzerland would undergo the same operation; and that Portugal would probably be in a worse predicament; that the expedition against England would be certainly pursued; and that the present period was the most favourable, if we wished to adopt any measure for a pacification.—Mr. Gerry, in answer, said, that if the French were disposed to pursue with vengeance the United States, they might perhaps ravage their coasts, and injure them in this way, but they never could subdue them: the measure he thought utterly impracticable, even if attempted by France and her allies. To which M. Y. assented. Mr. Gerry observed

served further, that the ravages alluded to, would undoubtedly closely connect the United States, and Great Britain, and prevent the former from returning to the friendship which they have ever had for France ; that as to the propositions, he should express no opinion on them ; that his situation, and that of his colleagues, was extremely difficult ; that the Directory were exclusively prejudiced against the government of the United States, and considered them as the friends of Great Britain ; that if the Envoys could have an opportunity of being heard, they could remove such impressions, and show that the government were the friends of France, as much as of Great Britain ; but that the Envoys were now in the most painful situation ; that they were treated, in the eyes of all Europe, and of the American government and nation, with the utmost contempt, and were submitting to indignities, which they could not reconcile to their feelings, or justify to their constituents. M. Y. said, that the observations were just : but that the American Envoys had not experienced worse treatment than other ministers, nor indeed as bad ; that the Envoy of Portugal was again ordered to depart ; and that but little ceremony was observed to the Envoys in general. M. Y. and Mr. Gerry then took a ride to M. Talleyrand's Bureau, who received them politely : and, after being seated, Mr. Gerry observed to M. Talleyrand, in English, slowly, that M. Y. had stated to him that morning, some propositions as coming from M. Talleyrand, respecting which, Mr. Gerry could give no opinion : that his object at this interview was, to request of him information, whether he would fix a time for taking a dinner with Mr. Gerry, at which he proposed to invite his colleagues ; that he wished for more frequent interviews of some kind or other, between himself and the Envoys ; conceiving that many imaginary difficulties, which obstructed the negotiation, would vanish by this means ; and that those which were real, would be surmounted : that, conceiving the delicate part which the Minister of France had to act ; at this time, he did not wish M. Talleyrand to accept the invitation, if it would subject him to inconveniences : that he wished to speak on another subject ; and it was painful to him to acknowledge, that the precarious situation of the Envoys was such, as to render it impossible for them to take measures for decent arrangements ; that a short time since, he had supposed measures were taking a favourable turn ; but, that lately, he had received, from various quarters, information of a report made by the minister of the interior, and under the consideration of

the Directory, for sending all Americans from Paris in twenty-four hours; that he could not be responsible for the truth of the information; but it appeared to him, as well from the various quarters from which it came, as from the intelligence of the person who gave it, to be highly probable; that if this was the case, it was unnecessary for the Directory, as he conceived, to pass any *arrêté*, as it respected the Envoys, for that they would depart from Paris whenever it was hinted as the wish of the Directory; that for his own part he should feel more at ease, until we were received, to reside in a city of some other nation than that of France; and to return to Paris on notice that the Directory were disposed to open the negotiation. M. Talleyrand appeared to be very uneasy at this declaration; but avoided saying a word on it. He said that the information M. Y. had given me was just, and might always be relied on: but that he would reduce to writing his propositions; which he accordingly did; and after he had shown them to Mr. Gerry, he burnt the paper. The substance was as follows. [See No. 1. below.]

He then said, that he accepted of the invitation; that he would dine with him the decade after the present, in which he was engaged.

Mr. Gerry did not repeat all that he had said to M. Y. having no doubt he would communicate the whole to M. Talleyrand. And, after expressing a friendship for the French Republic, and a warm desire to renew the former attachment of the two republics, which M. Talleyrand warmly reciprocated, M. Gerry bid M. Talleyrand adieu; leaving with him M. Y.

(No. 1.)

That the Envoys should come forward generally, and say:

“ France has been serviceable to the United States, and now they wish to be serviceable to France; understanding that the French Republic has sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions to sell, the United States will purchase them at par, and will give her further assistance when in their power.

“ The first arrangement being made, the French government will take measures for reimbursing the equitable demands of America arising from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ships in future.”

(No. 5.)

JULY, 1798.

121

(No. 5.)

Paris, January 8th, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

We embrace an unexpected opportunity, to send you the "Redacteur" of the fifth instant, containing the message of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, urging the necessity of a law to declare as good prize, all neutral ships having on board merchandizes and commodities, the production of England, or of the English possessions, that the flag, as they term it, may no longer cover the property:—And declaring further that the ports of France, except in case of distress, shall be shut against all neutral ships, which, in the course of their voyage, shall have touched at an English port. A commission has been appointed to report on the message, and it is expected that a decree will be passed in conformity to it.

Nothing new has occurred since our last, in date of the twenty-fourth ultimo. We can only repeat that there exists no hope of our being officially received by this government, or that the objects of our mission will be in any way accomplished.

We have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your most obedient servants,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,

J. MARSHALL,

E. GERRY.

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Esquire.

*Postscript to a triplicate of the Envoys' Letter, No. 5., received
30th March, 1798.*

The law above-mentioned has been passed unanimously by the Council of Five Hundred, and we inclose a journal containing the account. There is no doubt, but that it will be adopted, without opposition, by the Council of Ancients.

TRANSLA-

TRANSLATION.

Message to the Council of Five Hundred, of the 15th Nivôse, 6th year, (4th of Jan. 1798.)

CITIZENS REPRESENTATIVES,

On this day, the fifteenth of Nivôse, and at the very hour at which the Executive Directory addresses this message to you, the municipal administrators, the justices of the peace, the commissaries of the directory, and the superintendants of the customs, are proceeding, in all the chief places of the departments, in all the ports, and in all the principal communes of the republic, to seize the English merchandize now in France, or introduced into its territory, in contravention of the law of the tenth Brumaire, fifth year (Oct. 31st, 1796).

Such is the first act by which, now that peace is given to the continent, the war declared long since against England, is about to assume the real character which becomes it. The French will not suffer a power, which seeks to found its prosperity upon the misfortune of other nations, to raise its commerce upon the ruin of that of other states, and which, aspiring to the dominion of the seas, wishes to introduce, every where, the articles of its own manufacture, and to receive nothing from foreign industry—any longer to enjoy the fruit of its guilty speculations.

The English government has kept in pay, during the war, the coalesced forces, with the produce of its manufactures. It has violated all the principles of the law of nations, in order to shackle the relations of neutral powers; it has caused to be seized the provisions, corn, and commodities, which it supposed to be destined for France, it has declared contraband every thing which it thought could be useful to the republic; It desired to starve it. All the citizens call for vengeance.

When it had to fear the capture of vessels sailing under its flag, it corrupted foreign captains to induce them to take on board their vessels English merchandize, and thus to introduce it, by stratagem, by fraud or otherwise, into other states, and especially into the French Republic.

The neutral powers should have perceived, that, by this conduct, their merchants took part in the war, and that they lent assistance to one of the belligerent powers.

We serve a party, as well when we procure for it the means of augmenting its forces, as when we unite ourselves

to

to those which it has. The neutral powers should have perceived, that England, by stopping the vessels of other powers, laden in their respective ports, and destined for France, by permitting articles coming from her own manufactories alone to circulate, aimed at an exclusive commerce, and that it would be necessary to seek reparation for such an attempt.

The ordinance of the marine, and the regulation of 1704, have declared lawful prize, the vessels and their cargoes in which is found English merchandize belonging to enemies. These provisions should be extended. The interest of Europe requires it.

The directory thinks it urgent and necessary to pass a law declaring that the character of vessels, relative to their quality of neutral or enemy, shall be determined by their cargo, and the cargo shall be no longer covered by the flag: in consequence, that every vessel found at sea, having on board English provisions and merchandize as her cargo, in whole or in part, shall be declared lawful prize, whosoever may be the proprietor of these provisions or merchandize; which shall be reputed contraband, for this cause alone, that they come from England or her possessions.

It would be useful to declare, at the same time, that except in the case of distress, the ports of the republic shall be shut to all foreign vessels, which, in the course of their voyage, shall have entered those of England.

The Executive Directory requests you, citizens representatives, to adopt these measures. No neutral or allied power can mistake their object, nor complain of them, unless it be already abandoned to England. The infallible effect of the measure is to enhance the value of the produce of their own soil and industry, to increase the prosperity of their commerce, to repel every thing that comes from England, and essentially to influence the conclusion of the war.

Such are the motives which induce the Executive Directory to invite you, citizens representatives, to take the object of this message into the most prompt consideration.

(Signed,) P. BARRAS, President,
LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Plan

Plan of a Decree reported by M. Villiers, to the Council of Five Hundred, in its sitting of the 11th of January, 1798; translated from a Paris paper, entitled Journal du Soir, of the same day, inclosed in the triplicate of the Envoys' Letter, No. 5, dated 8th January, 1798.

“ First. The character of a vessel, relative to the quality of neuter or enemy, is determined by her cargo

“ In consequence, every vessel loaded in whole or in part with English merchandize, is declared lawful prize, whoever the owner of the said merchandize may be.

“ 2d, Every foreign vessel which, in the course of her voyage, shall have entered an English port, shall not enter France, except in case of distress: she shall depart thence as soon as the causes of her entry shall have ceased.”

This decree was immediately and unanimously adopted.

Summary of the Proceedings in Congress, during the Session, which ended on the 16th of July, 1798.

ON the 16th instant Congress adjourned after a session of more than eight months.

When it was found by a message from the President, and the instructions to the envoys in France together with their dispatches, that, although the utmost length of reasonable and just concession had been gone by the government, the French Republic refused to negotiate on fair and honourable terms, or even to receive the messengers of peace; and on the contrary demanded a tribute, together with the most humiliating submissions, as the price of an interview, while they continued and increased their wanton depredations on the commerce of America; Congress immediately discarded all further reliance on negotiation, and began to prepare for defending, by arms, the rights and honour of the country.

Three hundred and forty thousand dollars were immediately voted for fortifying the ports and harbours, and this sum has been since increased to four hundred and thirty thousand. One million three hundred thousand dollars were voted for cannon, small arms, ammunition, and military stores; of which thirty thousand stand of small arms, with proper accoutrements, are to be deposited in suitable places throughout the United States, for the use of the militia when called into service, or to be sold to them at costs and charges. Provision was made, besides, for the purchase of arms and equipments for four thousand cavalry,
either

either militia or regulars; and the President was authorized to employ one hundred thousand dollars in the purchase of foundries for casting cannon, mortars, and shot. One regiment of artillery, twelve of infantry, and six troops of horse, were directed to be immediately added to the militia establishment of the United States; which, with the four regiments of infantry, one of artillery, and two troops of horse; now on foot, and ordered to be immediately completed, will raise the regular force of the United States to nineteen regiments, or about thirteen thousand rank and file. These new troops are to be enlisted "for and during the continuance of the existing differences between the United States and the French Republic, unless sooner discharged." About three thousand of the whole number will probably remain on the frontiers where they now are stationed; the rest will be for the general defence, to act with the militia and volunteers in case the country should be attacked. A great part of them will probably be raised and stationed in the southern states; it being there that an attack, if made, will be most likely to take place.

In addition to these nineteen regiments, the President has been authorized, "in the event of a declaration of war against the United States, or of actual invasion of their territory by a foreign power, or of imminent danger of such invasion in his opinion discovered to exist before the next session of Congress," to raise a body of ten thousand men, who are to be enlisted for a term not exceeding three years, and all whose officers he may immediately proceed to appoint; so that, should the occasion occur for bringing them into the field, they may be speedily enlisted and prepared for service. Their officers, however, are to receive no pay, or other emolument, till brought into actual service. This is called "the provisional army."

The President is also empowered to accept the service of any volunteer companies who may offer themselves as part of the provisional army, to organize them into regiments or legions, to appoint all their officers, and to furnish them with arms, out of the public magazines, either by sale or loan. In case of loan their officers are to be responsible. These volunteers are to be liable at any moment, during two years after the time of their enlistment, to be called into service by the President; and when in service are to receive rations and pay like regular troops, and be subject to the same regulations and discipline. They are to clothe themselves. The President may establish rules for their training and discipline when not in actual service; and during the period of their enlistment, two years, they are exempted from ordinary militia duty.

Many corps of this kind have already been formed, particularly in the towns, and others are every where forming. In this city there is a legion almost complete, consisting now
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of two troops of horse, one company of grenadiers, one of artillery, and five of infantry. It is rapidly increasing; and, it is supposed, will soon amount to two thousand men.

The President has hitherto appointed those officers for the volunteers who have been elected by the companies; and I understand that it is his intention always to do so, where there is no particular objection to the person elected. These volunteers, it is expected, will form a very considerable force; which, on emergencies, will be always ready to aid the regular troops and the militia.

As to the militia, no new arrangements have been made. Some changes were attempted; but the subject was found full of difficulties; and it was, finally, thought best, in this moment of danger, not to make any alterations, which might, perhaps, derange the present systems, and create discontent or confusion.

For naval defence, various provisions have been made. The three frigates some time ago ordered to be built, have been finished, equipped, and put to sea. Finer vessels, it is thought, have never appeared on the ocean. Two of them carry forty-four guns each, and the third thirty-six. These, and all other public or private armed ships of the United States, are authorized to capture and bring in for condemnation "any French *armed vessel* which shall be found within the jurisdictional "line of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas." Unarmed ships are not to be molested.

In addition to these three frigates, the President has been authorized to procure, equip, and send to sea for the protection of our trade, six vessels of not less than thirty-two guns each; twelve of not less than twenty, nor more than twenty-four, six of not more than eighteen, and a number of revenue cutters, which carry from 8 to 14 guns each. To protect the harbours, bays, and inlets, where large vessels cannot go, ten galleys are directed to be equipped immediately. These vessels carry two or three very large guns, and a number of men, and are so constructed as to go into very shallow water. They will be stationed in different places along the coast.

Of the six thirty-two gun frigates, five are already on the stocks. Eleven of those between twenty and twenty-four have been contracted for, and are now rapidly fitting for sea. One has already sailed, and several others are nearly prepared. One of eighteen guns has also gone to sea, and two others are contracted for and will soon be ready. Measures are taken to procure all the rest, as well as the galleys. So that our naval force will be daily increasing, and in a few months may be very respectable. When the armament now ordered is complete we shall have at sea nine large frigates, twelve sloops of war of from twenty to twenty-four guns, six of from sixteen to eighteen, about ten cutters, of from 8 to 14, and ten galleys; making in the whole forty-eight ships of war: no inconsiderable

derable force for the first effort of a nation which, three months ago, had not an armed vessel afloat, except some three small cutters.

An apprehension at first prevailed that we should find difficulty in manning our ships of war; but hitherto they have always got their complement of seamen within a few days after they were ready to receive them. These brave and hardy fellows, though they have, in general, so little to lose, shew the greatest ardour to defend their country. Instances have occurred of their preferring to engage on board of armed ships at lower wages than they might have received in those that were unarmed.

Several of these vessels are building by patriotic subscriptions of private persons, who loan the money to government at six per cent, repayable at its convenience, and superintend the work themselves, under the direction of the navy department. Thus the money is procured on very easy terms, and the vessels are built far cheaper, and in less time, than could be done by the public. It is thought that, at least, three large frigates, and nine or ten sloops of war will be built in this manner. The merchants of Philadelphia have undertaken one of forty-four guns, for which they have subscribed nearly one hundred thousand dollars. About the same sum has been subscribed at Baltimore, one hundred and twenty-five thousand at Boston, between sixty and seventy thousand, as nearly as I can recollect, at New York, and considerable sums at various towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and at Norfolk, Alexandria, Richmond, and Petersburg in Virginia. The whole amount of private subscriptions is estimated at six hundred and forty thousand dollars. One gentleman at Boston subscribed ten thousand.

The merchant ships having been permitted to arm for their defence, and to capture French privateers, a very general armament of that kind is rapidly going on. Cannon was very scarce, and still is not plenty; but when a whole nation sets to work, and is in earnest, it soon surmounts every difficulty. The supply of arms is every day increasing; and we may expect that in a few months, our trade will be in a situation to defend itself, with the assistance of the public ships of war.

The first blow was struck some weeks ago by the capture of a French privateer on our coast, which had made prize of some of our ships, and then had the impudence to run into our own harbours for protection against the English cruizers. She was taken by one of our sloops of war, and has been condemned.

In the mean time, as a method of bringing France to reason, and saving our merchants from her wanton seizures, all commercial intercourse with her or her dominions has been suspended,

pended, till an accommodation of the differences between this country and her shall take place; and as she has not only violated, in numerous instances, the treaties between the two countries, but continues to do so, and refuses to listen to any demand of reparation, a law has been passed by Congress declaring those treaties no longer binding on the United States. In consequence of this law, the President has suspended the French consuls in this country from the functions which they exercised under those treaties.

Thus far have we gone defensively. We take French armed ships, which cruise for the purpose of annoying our trade, and we prepare with vigour for repelling their attacks by sea and land; but we do not attack her unarmed ships, or make reprisals for the injuries she has done us. Many persons were of opinion that we ought to go the last lengths, and declare war; which they deemed the most manly and honourable course, as well as the safest; but others thought it best to confine ourselves to defence and preparation, and leave the French either to discontinue their attacks, or to declare war, as they might think best. This course was finally adopted. Nothing is more difficult than to conjecture what will be the conduct of France in consequence of our measures. She may perhaps draw back, and by some apparent concessions try to avoid an open war. This perhaps would be her true policy; but I am inclined to think that she will pursue a contrary course, and endeavour, at all events, to enforce her demands. Earlier resistance, and vigorous preparation a year ago, on our part, might probably have prevented her from taking the ground; but having taken it, her pride, the passions of her rulers, and perhaps their policy, will probably forbid her to recede. Whatever may be her determination, I am convinced that with the union and spirit now displayed by this country, we have nothing to fear from her vengeance. We possess, I have no doubt, the means of creating a maritime force superior to any she can bring against us, even should she make peace with England. And as to invading our country, should she have the rashness to attempt it, she will soon find that the Americans have infinitely increased in means since 76 without decreasing in spirit. Her forces would not advance far into the country, before they would be met by an army of one hundred thousand men, led on by Washington, and composed of freemen fighting, and prepared to die, for their laws, their religion, and their families. This is a sort of resistance to which she has not hitherto been accustomed.

The measures already adopted are considered as the beginning, only, of preparation. Should France drive us into a serious war, far other exertions will be called for, and will, I have no doubt, be made.

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The expense of these preparatory measures, including one year's support of the additional troops, is estimated at nine millions of dollars, viz. 340,000 for fortifications; 1,300,000 for arms, military stores, &c. 200,000 for equipments of cavalry, and carrying into effect the provisional army bill; 3,370,000 for the naval armament; and 3,700,000 for the new troops. Should the provisional army be brought into service, its expenses for a year would amount, as estimated, to 3,500,000 dollars; and the volunteers and militia, if called out, will also require a considerable expense. These objects, however, are contingent, and not likely soon to happen. The certain expenses, directed by law, amount to nine millions.

To defray these expenses, we possess the following means. First, a balance of our ordinary revenue above our ordinary expenditure. In the last year, the year 1797, the impost and tonnage duties produced, 7,549,649 dollars; a million more than the product of 1796, and about two millions more than that of 1795. New imposts, to the estimated amount, of at least 500,000 dollars, have been added since 1795, but did not operate on the revenue of 1796 or 1797. This added to the product of 1797, without any allowance for increase, would raise the product of 1798 to eight millions; but if we allow one million for decrease on account of the present circumstances, which is more than I believe will take place, still we shall have seven millions for the product of impost and tonnage duties in the present year. The internal duties last year, arising from stills, spirits, carriages, retailers licenses, sugar-refiners, and auctioneers, produced dollars 575,491. In the present year 600,000 may be expected from them; perhaps more. The post-office produces 50,000; and public stock and bank shares held by the United States, 160,000. From the sale of western lands 40,000 may be expected. The stamp act went into operation on the 1st of July, and may be taken at 400,000 annually, which, for the remaining half of this year is 200,000. These various sums added together, give eight millions and fifty thousand dollars for the permanent revenue of the present year.

The ordinary expenditure will amount to 6,721,787 dollars; of which 1,121,494 are for the support of the civil government in all its various branches; 352,000 for paying awards under the British treaty; 1,238,730 for the old military establishment; and 4,009,561 for the interest of the public debt and the reimbursement of the principal. This aggregate of ordinary expenditure deducted from the amount of revenue stated above, leaves a balance of 1,328,213 dollars, to be applied to the extraordinary expenses. Add to this the sum of two millions laid, for one year, on lands, houses and slaves, in a manner which will be hereafter explained, and the sum of 640,000

dollars, estimated as the amount of subscriptions for building vessels, and they give an aggregate of about four millions for defraying the extraordinary expenses. Deduct this sum from the amount of those expenses, which is nine millions, and there remains a balance of five millions still to be provided. This the President is authorized to borrow on the best terms that can be obtained, and the surplus of impost and tonnage duties, beyond the permanent appropriations charged on them, is pledged to pay the interest and principal of the loan. These duties, we have seen, amount, on the most moderate estimate, to seven millions of dollars; the permanent appropriations charged on them, which are for the civil list, and the interest of the public debt, do not exceed 4,500,000. So that the fund, as solid a one as any government possesses, is amply sufficient for loans to the amount of twenty millions, instead of five, should it be necessary to borrow to that extent. The faith of the United States is, moreover, pledged to make up any deficiency. In short, I am persuaded, that the pecuniary resources of this country, like its military and maritime resources, have, as yet, been but slightly touched. Our whole system of taxation, including the direct tax of two millions laid by Congress in the present session, amounts only to about ten millions of dollars; which, divided among a population of probably six millions of souls, gives one dollar and one-third for the annual contribution of each person. In many parts of the country, this is one day's labour; in most parts, not more than two; and no where more than three. If we suppose one-fourth of this six millions to consist of persons capable of supporting themselves, and paying taxes, by their labour, and then divide the whole amount of the taxes among that fourth, it will come to something more than six dollars each; a sum which, with common industry, a person may earn in ten days or less. Thus we find, that the whole of our contributions to government, as now increased, amount to about ten days labour in the year, for each person capable of labour. Let this be compared with the state of other countries, even such as are most flourishing and happy, and it will be found, that we pay nothing in comparison with them. I have no doubt, for my own part, that we might pay twice as much, or even three times, were it necessary, without inconvenience; provided a skilful system were adopted for the collection, and steadily pursued.

I must beg your pardon, my dear Sir, for this digression, if such it should be thought. I intended it by way of answer to the insinuations of those, and such there are, who are so fond of telling us that we are not able to support the expense of protecting our property and our rights.

This leads me to explain the nature of the direct tax, and the manner in which it is apportioned, laid and collected. All the details cannot be brought within the compass of a letter; and

and they are the less necessary, since the laws themselves have been published, and some pains have been taken to distribute them through the country: but I will present you with the outline.

The tax, amounting to two millions of dollars, is laid on lands, dwelling-houses, and slaves. This is perfectly equal; because, although there are slaves in some states, and not in others, yet, as each state has its part of the tax fixed, it must pay that part, whether it has slaves or not; and, what it does not raise from slaves, it must raise from lands and dwelling-houses. All slaves under twelve, and above fifty, are exempted, as well as all such as are exempted by the laws of the state, where they are. The others pay half a dollar each. All dwelling-houses, which, with the out-houses belonging to them, and the lot on which they stand, not exceeding two acres for any one house, are worth less than 100 dollars, are also exempted; and so are all lands which are exempted by the laws of the state where they lie. All other lands and dwelling-houses are to pay according to a valuation. The dwelling-houses are to be valued with the out-houses belonging to them respectively, and the lot on which they stand, not exceeding two acres in any case; and the lands, with all wharfs and other buildings upon them, except dwelling-houses above the value of one hundred dollars.

For the purpose of making these valuations, each state is thrown into a suitable number of divisions, with a commissioner in each; and the commissioners in the state, form a board for superintending and conducting the business. This board divides the state in a proper number of assessment districts, and appoints in each, one principal assessor, and a suitable number of assistant assessors, whose duty it is to collect lists of all the lands, dwelling-houses, and slaves, and to value the former, under the direction of the commissioners. The property is to be described in a very particular manner, and every precaution is used to prevent the valuations from being unequal.

The valuations being finished, and a record of them, and of the lists whereon they are founded, being made in each assessment district, an abstract of the whole, together with the original lists, is transmitted by the board of commissioners to the secretary of the treasury; and he issues orders to the supervisor of each state, to proceed to the assessment and collection of the tax; for which purpose, the supervisor may appoint as many collectors as he thinks fit. Having before him the valuation of every house, and tract, or lot of land, in the state, and an enumeration of all the slaves liable to taxation, he proceeds to ascertain how much will be raised on the slaves, and deducts the amount from the sum payable by the state. He then assesses on every dwelling-house valued, with the out-houses and lot,

at more than one hundred, and not more than five hundred dollars, one fifth *per cent*, or twenty *cents* in the hundred dollars, on the amount of its valuation; on those above five hundred, and not more than one thousand, three-tenths *per cent*.; on those above one, and not more than three thousand, four-tenths *per cent*.; on those above three, and not more than six thousand, five-tenths, or one half; on those above six, and not more than ten thousand, six-tenths; on those above ten, and not more than fifteen thousand, seven-tenths; on those above fifteen, and not more than twenty thousand, eight-tenths; on those above twenty, and not more than thirty thousand, nine-tenths; and on those above thirty thousand, one *per cent*. Having ascertained what, according to these proportions, will be raised upon dwelling-houses within the state, he deducts that amount also from the sum payable by the state; and the balance, if any, is laid upon the lands, according to the valuation, and at such rate *per cent* as will be sufficient to make it up. This rate the supervisor fixes.

Should the slave and house-tax amount to more than the sum payable by the state, the supervisor must reduce the rates on houses, so as to bring it down to that sum: and there will, in that case, be no tax on the lands.

Hence, it appears, that houses of a high value pay much more, in proportion, than those of a low one. A house worth 100 dollars, for instance, pays but one-fifth *per cent*. or twenty *cents*; while one of 30,000 dollars value, and there are many such, especially in the great towns, will pay one *per cent*, or 300 dollars: five times as much in proportion as the former. This goes upon the principle of a tax upon *expense*, not a tax upon *capital*; that being considered as the true criterion whereby taxes ought to be apportioned: and, it is supposed, that the house in which a man lives, will afford, generally speaking, a tolerably exact indication of his means of expense, and of paying taxes; consequently, that a man who lives in a house worth 30,000 dollars, must have an income which will enable him to pay 300 dollars, as easily as one inhabiting a house worth only 100 dollars, can pay twenty *cents*. Thus, the burden is made to fall on those who are able to bear it, and on every one in proportion to his ability.

When the proportions to be paid by slaves, houses, and lands, respectively, are thus fixed, the supervisor issues his warrant to certain officers to be appointed in each assessment district, called surveyors of the revenue, whose duty it is to ascertain the amount payable by each person in the district, and make out collection lists accordingly. This done, the lists are delivered to the collectors, who proceed to the collection of the tax. Each collector must, as soon as he receives his list, advertise in at least four places within his district, for all persons to come and pay the tax, and he must call on those who do not attend,
and

and demand it from them. If they do not pay within twenty days after the demand, he may proceed to collect it by distress of their goods, except beasts of the plough, arms, household furniture, and the necessary apparel of the family. Should the tax, or any part of it, remain unpaid for a year, lands may be sold; but the owner may redeem them, at any time within two years after the sale, by the payment or tender of the amount of the tax, with costs and charges, and twelve *per cent* interest.

Each collector, before receiving a tax list for collection, must give bond and security for double the amount contained in the list. He must account monthly for the monies he receives, and may be removed and compelled to deliver up his lists, if guilty of any misconduct, besides being liable to the action of the party injured. He must make a final settlement of his accounts within thirteen months, under pain of becoming liable for the whole amount of his lists, and having his lands and goods, with those of his securities, sold to raise the money. Many other precautions are used to prevent abuse, and insure a speedy collection and payment by the collectors.

The commissioners receive three dollars per day each, while employed in the duty of their office, besides the sum of 150 dollars, as a general compensation. The principal assessors have one dollar and an half per day, while so employed; and the assistant assessors, from one dollar to one and an half, according to the nature of their business. The surveyors of the revenue, who are to be permanent officers, are compensated by certain fees on the business they do. The supervisors have one half *per cent*. on the amount of all monies received and paid over by them under the act, the inspectors one quarter *per cent*. and the collectors five *per cent*. The expense of collecting the tax, therefore, will be about seven *per cent*. That of the valuation, will be more considerable; perhaps 200,000 dollars, or ten *per cent*: but a valuation once made, will serve for several years, probably ten or twelve; and when renewed, will cost less than the first time.

This tax is laid for only one year, and is not intended to be made permanent, unless the state of the finances should absolutely require it. Probably, however, it will be continued from year to year, for some time. Perhaps it may be reduced, and it is far from being impossible, that the public exigencies, especially in case the war should become such as to require great exertions, may render an increase of it absolutely necessary.

The whole sum, two millions of dollars, is divided among the states, according to their respective numbers, including two-fifths of the slaves. By this apportionment, New-Hampshire pays 77,705 dollars; Massachusetts 260,435. Rhode-Island 37,502. Connecticut 129,767. Vermont 46,864. New-

York 181,687. New-Jersey 98,387. Pennsylvania 237,177. Delaware 30,430. Maryland 152,599. Virginia 345,488. Kentucky 37,643. North-Carolina 193,697. Tennessee 18,806. South-Carolina 112,997, and Georgia 38,814. Of the whole amount, it is supposed that slaves will pay about 130,000 dollars, dwelling-houses about 1,000,000, and lands, consequently, about 870,000.

Such is the nature, amount, and mode of collection, of this tax, which would not have been necessary, had not the conduct of France compelled us to arm; but which, I am fully persuaded, the Americans will most cheerfully pay, when they reflect that the money is to be employed, not in paying tribute to a foreign nation, but in defending their own rights, honour, and independence. For such objects as these, I am even persuaded, that double the amount would, if necessary, be paid with cheerfulness.

The last advices from our commissioners, were received about the 20th of June, and bear date on the 3d and 4th of April. General Marshall, one of the commissioners, brought them. It appears by these dispatches, that Generals Pinckney and Marshall, finding all hope of an accommodation, on other than disgraceful terms, to be quite at an end, resolved to return home, to which the French government, not finding them disposed to yield up the honour of their country, made no objection. General Marshall, therefore, embarked for America, and General Pinckney went to the south of France, where his daughter's health made it necessary for her to remain some time. The Directory detained Mr. Gerry, with a view, as he states in his letter to the President, of drawing him again into discussions about a *loan*; in other words, a *tribute*: but he declares his intention of concluding nothing in the absence of his colleagues. He is known, by this time, to have received the new instructions sent by the President on the arrival of the first dispatches; and, in consequence of them, he is, probably, on his way home; for they direct the commissioners to listen to no propositions about a loan, to hold no intercourse with the French government, except through agents publicly and regularly accredited, and to leave France immediately, unless officially received by the Directory, in a manner suitable to their character, and to the dignity of their nation. It being, moreover, judged improper that one of these commissioners should remain in France, to conduct, alone, a business for which three had been appointed, the President, as soon as he found that Generals Pinckney and Marshall were dismissed, sent Mr. Gerry positive orders to return immediately.

To refuse to treat with two commissioners of characters so highly respectable, and retain the third in hopes of wheedling him into conditions dishonourable and ruinous to his country, is very conformable to French policy and French systems; but it is highly

highly insulting to this country, and leads to consequences, which, if not resisted, must prove wholly destructive of its independence. It amounts to saying, "when you have a dispute to settle with us, you shall not choose the negotiators, but we will choose them; they shall not be such persons as you can trust, but such as we like, as we may think the most manageable." When a nation submits to conduct like this, its independence is a mere shadow; the substance is gone.

From this it appears that the arrival of General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry may be hourly expected; but nothing has been heard from either of them since the 4th of April.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

During the last secession of Congress, the farcical affair of "*Blount's Conspiracy*," as it was called, was brought to a conclusion; or rather, it was buried in oblivion, without ever being brought to any conclusion at all.

WILLIAM BLOUNT, who was a native of North Carolina, and who had been governor of the new state of Tennessee, was, in 1797, a member of the Senate of the United States for the said state of Tennessee. What were his *moral* principles, the reader will be able to guess from the part he acted in the transactions about to be detailed; but, it may be necessary to observe, that he was a *flaming patriot*, always full of professions in favour of France and against Great Britain. On all questions, which came before the Senate, and in which these two nations were implicated, he never failed to give the strongest and most unequivocal proofs of attachment to the former, and of hatred of the latter.—But, of all changeable things, what is so changeable as the affections of a republican patriot!

BLOUNT was a *great dealer in lands*, which implies, at once, every quality usually possessed by a fortune hunter and a gambler. He was, as the well-born men of the Southern States generally are,

a gentleman-like, easy, engaging man. By his address, and perhaps by his zeal in their service, he had acquired great weight, not only amongst the people of Tennessee, but also amongst the Indians in the neighbourhood of the state. This circumstance rendered him a dangerous man, if in any case, he should become disaffected to the United States.

The lands, which he owned in Tennessee, and in other parts of the country bordering on the Mississippi, were of immense extent; and, as all, and ten times more than all his fortune, was embarked in these lands, every circumstance which could affect their value deeply engaged his attention. The United States had made a treaty with Spain, in 1795, which was considered very advantageous to the Western territory of the United States; but, before the boundary lines were drawn, in fulfilment of that treaty, Spain made a peace with France, by a secret article of which, it was thought, and is yet thought [in 1799], that *Louisiana was ceded to France*, and was to be delivered up to her at the conclusion of a general peace. MR. BLOUNT, patriot as he was, did not like the prospect of having the republican French for neighbours. In fact, he knew, that it would prevent the Western countries of the United States from being settled, and would, of course, not only prevent his lands from rising in value, but would take from them all the value they then possessed, and reduce him and his constituents to ruin.

In looking about him for means to prevent this, he could find nothing whereon to place any reliance, but *the aid of Great Britain*. This aid, however, could not be expected, without an offer of something substantial, as a compensation for the risk and expense. BLOUNT, therefore, and others concerned in the scheme, resolved to make an offer to put Great Britain in possession of Louisiana

siana and the Floridas, if she would send a squadron to take New Orleans and to guard the mouth of the Mississippi. The people of Tennessee and Kentucky were to be joined by a body of Indians, and these, under the direction of Blount and his associates, were to assist the British in dividing the Spaniards from the Continent of North America, and thus render it impossible for the French to form a settlement in Louisiana, for the purpose of annoying the people and influencing the parties and government of the United States.—Such was the plan; never was one better laid, or more easy to execute. How it came to fail will be gathered from the following documents, and the notes, which I have thought it necessary to add. These documents are taken from a “*Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, appointed to prepare and report Articles of Impeachment against WILLIAM BLOUNT, a Senator of the United States.*”

But, before I insert the documents, I must mention some circumstances, a knowledge of which is necessary to a clear comprehending of their meaning.—While BLOUNT was at Philadelphia, in the capacity of a Senator, in the winter of 1797, his plan was opened to MR. LISTON (the British Minister there) by one CHISHOLM, whom American courtesy styled CAPTAIN CHISHOLM. It does not appear, that CHISHOLM was the agent of BLOUNT; but, that BLOUNT having communicated something of his intentions to him, CHISHOLM anticipated his propositions with the British Minister, and thus became, through the incautiousness of the latter, the principal in an enterprise, in which it was intended, that he should act as a very subordinate agent.—The Congress, which broke up in March, left BLOUNT leisure to return to Tennessee until June, when the Congress met again. On his
return

return to Philadelphia, he wrote the following letter to one JAMES CAREY, an interpreter of the Indian language at Tellico.

*Colonel King's Iron Works,
April 21st, 1797.*

DEAR CAREY,

I wished to have seen you, before I returned to Philadelphia; but I am obliged to return to the session of Congress, which commences on the 15th May.

Among other things that I wished to have seen you about, was the business Captain Chesholm mentioned to the British Minister last winter at Philadelphia.

I believe, but am not quite sure, that the plan then talked of will be attempted this fall; and if it is attempted, it will be in a much larger way than then talked of; and if the Indians act their part, I have no doubt but it will succeed. *A man of consequence has gone to England about the business*, and if he makes arrangements as he expects, I shall myself have a hand in the business, and probably shall be *at the head of the business on the part of the British*. You are, however, to understand that it is not yet quite certain that the plan will be attempted; yet you will do well to keep things in a proper train of action in case it should be attempted, and to do so will require all your management. I say require all your management, because you must take care, in whatever you say to Rogers, or any body else, not to let the plan be discovered by Hawkins, Dinsmoor, Byers, or any other person in the interest of the United States or Spain.

If I attempt this plan, I shall expect to have you, and all my Indian country and Indian friends with me; but you are now in good business, I hope, and you are not to risk the loss of it by saying any thing that will hurt you until you again hear from me. Where Captain Chesholm is I do not know: I left him in Philadelphia in March, and he frequently visited the minister, and spoke upon the subject; but I believe he will go into the Creek nation, by way of South Carolina or Georgia. He gave out he was going to England, *but I did not believe him*. Among things that you may safely do, will be to keep up my consequence with Watts, and the Creeks and Cherokees generally, and you must by no means say any thing in favour of Hawkins, but as often as you can with safety to yourself, you may teach the Creeks to believe *he is no better than he should be*. Any power or consequence he gets will be against our plan. Perhaps Rogers, *who has no office to lose*, is the best man to give out talks against Hawkins*. Read the letter

* An Agent of the United States with the Creek Nation.

to Rogers *, and if you think it best to send it to him, put a wafer in it, and forward it to him by a safe hand, or perhaps you had best send for him to come to you, and speak to him yourself, respecting the state and prospect of things.

I have advised you in whatever you do to take care of yourself. I have now to tell you to take care of me too, for a discovery of the plan would prevent the success, and much injure all parties concerned. It may be that the commissioners may not run the lines as the Indians expected, or wish, and in that case it is probable the Indians may be taught to blame me for making the treaty.

To such complaints against me, if such there are, it may be said by my friends, at proper times and places, that Doublehead confirmed the treaty with the President at Philadelphia, and receives as much as 5000 dollars a year to be paid to the nation over and above the first price: indeed, it may with truth be said, that though I made the treaty, that I made it by the instructions of the President, and in fact it may with truth be said, that I was by the President instructed to purchase much more land than the Indians would agree to sell. This sort of talk will be throwing all the blame off me, upon the late President, and as he is now out of office, it will be of no consequence how much the Indians blame him. And among other things that can be said for me, is, that I was not at the running of the line, and that if I had been, it would have been run more to their satisfaction. In short, you understand the subject, and must take care to give out the proper talks to keep up my consequence with the Creeks and Cherokees. Can't Rogues contrive to get the Creeks to desire the President to take Hawkins out of the nation, for if he stays in the Creek nation, and gets the good will of the nation, he can and will do great injury to our plans. *When you have read this letter over three times then burn it.* I shall be at Knoxville in July or August, when I will send for Watts, and give him the whiskey I promised, &c.

WM. BLOUNT.

This letter was left with COLONEL KING, to be by him sent on to CAREY; but BLOUNT happening to meet on his journey, a man of the name of GRANT, he requested him to go to KING's, to take the letter, and give it to CAREY. Both GRANT and CAREY were afterwards examined

* An Agent of the United States with the Cherokee Nation.

upon oath. The following extracts from their depositions, will show how BLOUNT's letter got into the hands of the government.

Extract from Grant's Deposition.

MR. BLOUNT,

After speaking generally of some unfortunate circumstances having taken place in his pecuniary affairs in Philadelphia, he told me, in confidence, that *there was a plan on foot which he hoped would relieve him from his difficulties*. I asked him the nature and extent of it, believing it to be a landed negotiation which I had understood he with some others were concerned in, and had in operation by their agents in London and elsewhere. He informed me that it was quite a different thing; that it was a plan respecting which, Chisholm and several of the chiefs had been with the British Minister during the last winter in Philadelphia, and on the subject of which Chisholm had a paper in the hand-writing of Mr Liston, though he believed *his name was not to it*; that the intention of the thing was a co-operation of the Indians with the British in taking the Floridas, and establishing a British government in the Spanish dominions on the Mississippi, which he conceived would be of great utility to the Western country: he said, if the plan should go forward, he should be engaged in it; that he was to use his influence to bring the Indians to act their part, and to conduct them as their military leader on the expedition; and that he was to be rewarded by some high official situation in the government of the conquered country: he made no direct overture to me to join in the enterprise; but said, that if he succeeded, he should have it in his power to provide handsomely for his friends; and advised me to go to the Natchez, to get out of the reach of certain pecuniary engagements which I had been induced to contract by indorsing paper on his assurance that the payment should be provided for, and which he told me there would be no other method of avoiding than by going out of the government of the United States. He did not mention the names of any persons who were to be associated with him in his project, but I understood generally from him that any citizens of the United States who would engage in the enterprise, as volunteers, should be received and employed. He appeared to place great reliance on the assistance of Rogers and Carey, and on their influence in persuading the Indians to second his views: he spoke particularly of Rogers as a more resolute and determined man, and more to be depended on, than Carey. He did not explain the arrangement of the plan more particularly than that a naval armament was

was to be sent from Great Britain, which was to bring out the materials for the enterprise, and which was to be co-operated with on the land side, under his directions, by the Indians and such other force as he could engage for the purpose. He spoke of it as an affair not yet matured, but which depended on preliminary circumstances yet to be arranged. I understood that the paper, which he mentioned Chisholm to have in the hand-writing of Mr. Liston, contained the project of the expedition.

I parted from Governor Blount about 150 or 160 miles from Knoxville, and proceeded on my journey. On the 15th of May, or about that time, I was going from Knoxville to Tellico Block-house, to settle some pecuniary transactions of my own; when I was requested by Colonel James King to take down some letters—On my signifying my willingness to take them, he gave me two letters to James Carey, and one for Major Lovely, all from Governor Blount—One of the letters for Carey was, I think, under two seals, and was marked on the superscription, No. 1.—the other two letters were open—When they were delivered to me by Colonel King, he enjoined me to deliver the sealed letter to Carey secretly: I did not enquire the motive of this injunction, because I supposed it was the letter of which Governor Blount had spoken to me in Washington county, and that Colonel King was acquainted with the subject of it—I delivered all the letters as I was requested; the unsealed letter for Carey, which was upon private business, I took back from him as its object could not then be complied with.

Extract from Carey's Deposition.

After my return to Tellico, on or about the 20th of May, I was told that James Grant, commonly called Major Grant, wanted to see me—When I met him, he told me he had a letter for me which he wished to deliver to me when we were by ourselves: We walked away together to some distance, and he then said he had a letter for me from my old friend Governor Blount—He delivered it to me, and on opening it, I found, within the same cover, two letters, one for John Rogers, dated "Tennessee, Sullivan county, April 21, 1797, (Colonel King's Iron-works)"—the other for me, dated "Colonel King's Iron-works, April 21, 1797."—both of which letters are now in the possession of the Committee—Without attending to the direction, I first opened that which was addressed to Rogers, and read down one side, which related to a runaway negro fellow, before I discovered my mistake. I then began the letter which was directed to me—Major Grant and I were sitting within two feet of each other—I read loud enough to be heard by him; and,

and, as I was sometimes at a loss to make out a word, being a poor scholar, he told me what it was, and explained to me, and corrected me whenever I blundered as I went on—When I had finished reading it, he said to me, “Now, Carey, you must be very careful, as your friend Governor Blount puts great confidence in you; you must observe what he tells you, that when you have read the letter two or three times, you are to burn it”—He then asked me what I intended to do; whether I would send the letter to Rogers, or send for Rogers to come to me—I told him I did not know; perhaps I might write to Rogers, and if I did, I would let him know—He said that people thereabouts thought it was all over with Governor Blount: but he would rise yet—that if his plan should take place, it would be a great thing for the friends of the business and for the country—that Governor Blount would entrust nobody with the care of the letter but him, and that he had come to Tellico on purpose to deliver it to me—that I should receive another letter from Governor Blount, and that he, Major Grant, would come down again to see me on the subject—I then told him that I could not tarry any longer, as I was wanted at the store: as we returned, he repeated to me that I should be careful, that the business was of great consequence, that it would be of much service to its friends, and that Governor Blount placed great confidence in me. He then returned to Knoxville.

I kept the letter, but did not know what to do with it or think about it—I had, *a few days before*, been sworn, by Mr. Dinsmoor, to execute my appointments with fidelity to the United States: and I was much embarrassed between my regard for Governor Blount and what might possibly be my duty with respect to the letter*—I consulted Major Lewis Lovely, who is *clerk* at the store, and shewed him the letter—He told me he did not know what to advise, but that I should consider my oath—I took occasion, a few days afterwards, when I was alone with Mr. Byers, to tell him that I had a strange letter in my possession, which I did not know what to do about: He asked me who it was from—I told him, and promised to shew it to him the next morning, which I did accordingly; and on his assurance that it was of importance to the public that it should be disclosed, *I gave it to him*.

* This fellow must not have much credit on the score of *conscience*. It was his *place*, and not his *soul*, that he was afraid of losing. His appointment under the United States had taken place without the knowledge of BLOUNT, who, if he had heard of it, certainly would not have made a *confidant* of him.

Thus

Thus did the letter fall into the hands of BYERS, one of the very persons, from whom the writer cautions CAREY to keep its contents a profound secret ! BYERS, finding himself not only *not trusted*, but positively *suspected*, by BLOUNT, immediately set off to Philadelphia, and communicated the letter to the President. The President, after having made the necessary inquiries respecting CHISHOLM and the others concerned ; and after having taken the preparatory steps for seizing on the papers of the grand projector, communicated the fatal letter to the Congress, where it was read from the chair of the Senate, while the writer of it was sitting as one of the Members of that body !

This was on the 3d of July, 1797, during that session of Congress, which has, usually, been denominated the *Extra Session*. The Senate instantly passed a resolution to send for *persons and papers*, in virtue of which they seized a trunk containing the letters and other private papers of BLOUNT. The House of Representatives, in the mean time, appointed a Committee to examine, and make a report on the business. On the 5th of July, this Committee made their report in part, and recommended an immediate publication of the papers. On the 7th of July, the House took up the report of the Committee, which was now rendered incomplete, and resolved to *impeach* MR. BLOUNT of *high crimes and misdemeanors*. MR. SAMUEL SITGREAVES, who was the first on the Committee, was ordered to carry up the resolution to the Senate, and their to prefer the impeachment in the name of the House of Representatives, and of all the people of the United States ; and further, to demand, that the said WILLIAM BLOUNT should be sequestered from his seat in the Senate. On the 8th of July, the Senate informed the lower House, that they had taken bail for the appearance
of

of BLOUNT. On the 18th of July the Senate informed the Representatives, that they had *expelled* WILLIAM BLOUNT; that upon his expulsion being declared, MR. BUTLER and THOMAS BLOUNT (brother of William), the sureties of BLOUNT the Senator, came and surrendered him up, and requested to be discharged from their recognizances; and, that, thereupon the Senate resolved, that WILLIAM BLOUNT should be taken into custody of their messenger, until new and sufficient surety should be given. BLOUNT did not like this resolution, the fulfilment of which he took care to prevent by immediately *decamping*. This circumstance, however, (which the Congress really seem to have rejoiced at) did not prevent the preparations for the impeachment from going. The sessions ended, in the mean time; but Messrs. SAMUEL SITGREAVES, HARPER, BALDWIN, DAWSON, and BAYARD, were appointed a Committee to examine evidences, and to make their report at the next meeting of Congress.

The first thing this Committee did was to rummage the trunk of papers, which belonged to BLOUNT, and which the Senate had seized, upon the first intimation of the matter. In this trunk they found several letters from a Doctor NICHOLAS ROMAYNE, a physician of New-York, who was a speculator in lands, and who had been for some time, in close connection with BLOUNT. They sent to New-York, apprehended DR. ROMAYNE, and carried him to Philadelphia.—Romayne's letters and his deposition before the Committee I shall now insert at length; as also the letters of BLOUNT to ROMAYNE, together with those of CHISHOLM, and the deposition of DAVY, which with the letters of MR. PICKERING, MR. LISTON, and LORD GRENVILLE, will be found to form a complete history of the whole affair.

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, Feb. 9th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I persevere in my determination respecting a *certain business* as expressed to you at New-York—I am without the expected letter from you. If you have any thing worth communicating comes to your knowledge, I beg the favour to receive it as early as possible, and am with the sincerest esteem,

WM. BLOUNT.

Doct. Romaine,
New-York.
(Free) Wm. Blount.

New-York, Feb. 10th, 1797:

MY DEAR SIR,

I should have written you before, but I have not been able to learn till lately that nothing has come from Mr. King to any persons in this city. I now know that to be the case.

Our news from Europe you have in the public papers. You see with what earnestness the British loan has filled, and you see with what boldness Bonaparte fights. There are no omens of peace. The Directory agree to the terms of composition, yet they do not mean to give up Flanders and the parts of Germany south of the Rhine which are now incorporated with the Republic one and indivisible. They can only mean to give up some of the conquests in Italy. These terms will not suit the British as yet, and I am fully persuaded that the war will go on, with increasing violence, for it will become more and more national. I have reflected much, since you left me, respecting our plans to the southward, and the more I think on them the more important they appear to me in their consequences. The packet sails on Tuesday, and I shall begin to write this evening fully on the subject, given assurance that the *friend we contemplate* will go over in May. I am sure of success from a variety of circumstances, and am sure I am not too sanguine.

I am really anxious to go on to Philadelphia to see you for a few days, but I am detained here. The man from whom I had to receive 1200 dollars the 20th of this month has failed, I have sureties, but they will not pay without being sued, and the question is whether I must not give time. I have nearly the like sum due the 1st of March, which I must also endeavour to secure, for I know I shall not obtain payment.

To add to my disappointments, I shall lose 150l. for house-rent from the misfortunes of my tenants.

I trust and hope you are of the same mind you were here about going to the eastward. I am collecting all the facts I can to furnish you, and you will no doubt do the same. Pray let me hear from you soon.

I am, with perfect consideration,

Your assured friend,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Senator of the United States,
Philadelphia.

New-York, March 3d, 1797.

I have only this moment, my dear friend, received your letters of the 9th and 16th ult. and I am to censure myself very much for not having called at the post-office before.

I am happy you continue in your sentiments on a certain point. You may be assured it is every thing to you and me. With respect to peace, be assured it is very distant notwithstanding what is said, it is impossible under present circumstances any accommodation can take place or peace continue for nine months.

There are letters here from Mr. Monroe.—His opinion is that of peace, but I know it is founded on a supposition that England must yield in every point to France.—There are letters from Mr. K.—he writes with caution.—The only thing he says is that the minister's mode for a loan is not popular, but the result shews that Mr. Pitt has gained his object.

With respect to myself, I am preparing all my business to follow you.—We are here very much perplexed in money matters. The one note I mentioned to you is already protested, and I have another due to-morrow which will also be protested.—By given time they will be secured to me.—

Pray let me hear from you by return of post and what time you will set out for—when you leave Philada. &c.—

Present me to your lady and family, and be assured of the sentiments of esteem with which I have the honour to be,

Your oblig'd servant and friend,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

Philadelphia,

JULY, 1798.

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Philadelphia, Tuesday, March 7th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I have before told you that I persisted in the plan of going to London and I now repeat it to you, but from what part of America I will take my passage is uncertain and I fear it will not be convenient to take it from New-York, hence seems to me to arise a necessity that I should see you before my departure from this place. Can't you come here on the last of this week and spend a few days when and where you and myself can talk things over once more.—I shall expect your answer as early as may be.—With the sincerest esteem,

Your friend,
WM. BLOUNT.

Free Wm. Blount.
Doct. Romayne,
New-York.

New-York, March 8th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have acknowledged your favours of February, last week; since that time I have not had the pleasure of a line from you respecting your future operations.—The last letters from Holland speak of peace as out of the question, and that there will surely be another campaign.—I do not find that the death of the Empress of Russia will have much effect on the present politicks of Europe.—The same ministers will be continued, and if the new Emperor will not meddle with state affairs his life will be continued to him—otherwise he will be destroyed and his wife will reign.—Indeed from late accounts it is suspected that some revolutionary movements are to be apprehended.—There is a very high aristocracy in Russia, and they will with much difficulty submit to the controul of a sovereign.—The Bears it seems prefer to be governed by a woman.

I do not hear any thing from England—a packet is hourly expected with the January mail.—I shall write you if any thing occurs.

I have read Mr. Adam's speech—I expect the greatest part of his administration will consist of speeches and orations—I fear much that on Saturday commenced an æra not very propitious to our country.—The most that can be expected from Mr. Adams will be a negative Magistrate. But

it appears as if he does not mean to give any tone to the government, but to be led by the Senate and House of Representatives.—

Money is very scarce here indeed, and it is said there are very great sacrifices of all kinds of property making every day, at auction at the Coffee-house.—Mr. Macomb has purchased some North Carolina lands here at 10 cents per acre, said to be of a good quality. Pennsylvania lands are offered here at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a dollar, said to be good lands.—R. Morris's notes are at 1s. in the L.—I have much reason to suppose, that these matters will not mend, as bills on London are rising and our commerce getting more and more embarrassed.—I wish your opinion respecting the value of Morris's notes, and respecting lands for a friend of mine here.

I am, with perfect consideration,
very entirely yours,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Philadelphia.

New-York, March 9th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received your favour of the 7th instant and am extremely sorry that my sister's indisposition will prevent me from going on to Philadelphia at the time you have appointed.

Your voyage will be very interesting to us both, and of the highest consequence to certain operations. I have therefore thought much about the most eligible mode for you to go. I have concluded in my own mind it would be best to embark for Amsterdam or Hamburgh—and for a guinea you can always be landed in the channel by fishing boats who are in great numbers on the coast. In this way all—will be done away—you can go very privately from this or Philadelphia, and you will have a much better choice of shipping. At any rate you must not go from the southward in a vessel with naval stores—you will be subject to too many chances of capture.

Another consideration of moment is, that I wish you to see answers to the letters I have written, because there may be some disposition to be made in consequence of them. Let me know when you leave Philadelphia, and if you go to Washington or Knoxville—It surely will be convenient for you to go from the northward and I hope your arrangements will

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will enable you to set out the beginning of May.—My opinion is much for your going from this or Philadelphia as I have mentioned. I shall enquire respecting shipping and give you information in my next.

Yours affectionately,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Saturday, March 11th, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I received your letter of the 8th, and to-day that of the 9th instant. I regret that I could not have had the pleasure of seeing you at this place before my departure for the southward, which will now be in a few days, and particularly the cause which has prevented your coming. Yet I beg you to continue to address such letters as you shall write me on or before the 23d March to this place, as to that day they will reach me free of postage and I shall direct the postmaster how to forward them to me, and before that day I will advise how to address me after that time. My business at present to the southward is such that I cannot give more particular instructions to you at this time. I shall certainly attempt to carry our plan into execution and shall see you at New-York or some other convenient place before my departure for Europe early in May. Mrs. Blount is so importunate to go to Knoxville this spring that I have not yet been able to say I am not going there with her, hence perhaps you may hear I am gone to Tennessee, but hear what you will rest assured I am steady and determined to our purposes. Pray let me hear from you often and on my part I promise to you to keep you well advised of my movements. In the mean time be assured that I am with very sincere esteem,

Your obedient servant,

W. B.

Doctor Romayne.

New-York, March 11th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I regret very much indeed that I have not had it in my power to go on to Philadelphia to meet you as I so sincerely

L 3

wish—

wish—but I must communicate my sentiments as they occur.

You know my sentiments are that no peace can take place in Europe for some years, certainly not this century, at least such is my opinion—I am sure I cannot be wrong that peace is not at hand. You are therefore to consider if the object we have proposed is not of greater moment the more it is considered.

I have mentioned to you in my last letter my wishes that you should go in an Amsterdam or a Hamburgh vessel, even in one bound to France if she goes up channel, in preference to any other mode. I have made the necessary enquiries, and I am told there will be good ships going from this in May—though none are specified—You will be at no loss from this port.

I must communicate to you two sentiments which are strongly impressed on my mind. The one is, that you be not seen or known in any commercial or land speculation in—for it will be of immense disadvantage if known in respect to your other business as long as that is pending—if you have any views that way let it go through your brothers to Cap. Laurence who is known to them and is a good man, or Mr. Mullitt; this I wish to impress very much on your mind—the second is, that I have reason to believe there is a personal dislike in Mr. King towards you and I think it absolutely necessary that the objects we contemplate be kept from him—Upon this head then we are to be prepared and armed and I shall throw sentiments of that kind in all my letters to keep the business from King, and to anticipate his conduct.

This is all that occurs to me now—As you know my opinions respecting the continuance of the war, you must know what are the prospect of things in the United States—I think they will not be very flattering—You who are at the head of things must have a great opportunity of knowing how things will be. Let me hear from you soon—for I am very anxious to know your future determination as it must very much govern mine.

Yours affectionately,
NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

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New-York, March 15th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this day received your letter of the 11th instant. I do not know that I shall write you after the 23d on the subjects we contemplate because the utmost caution is necessary for us both to observe. The great point is now decided, and will corroborate the opinions I gave you that the war will go on, and you may depend it will for some years with a degree of acrimony and horror not to be described. This then is fixing one point in this state of things; if you and I can benefit ourselves, and be at the same time of service to our fellow creatures we ought to do it.

I find that Hamilton and our politicians here are very averse to the French being in our neighbourhood and are equally so that there should be any change I am very cautious and circumspect, but I get all the opinions I can. In our business we will have nothing but enemies here—therefore the utmost reserve is required. I shall give out that I mean to visit some of the states and then to sit down and practice physic here—I think that will kill all suspicion about my being engaged in any political matters. In my last letter I gave you some ideas of King and of not being seen in any business in a certain place, so as to appear a pure dignified political character—let me know if these letters have reached—I never was so confident of success in my life in the success of any business as I am in this of our contemplation.

I wish to impress on your mind very much the idea of secrecy in our business and not to confide in any one, for it may be of material disadvantage to us. This perhaps may be of moment for you to consider, That every means should be used in the Tennessee, Kentucky, &c. to give every assurance that a certain country is certainly ceded to France. That of course all property in these countries will be of no value as it will be in a neighbourhood of a hostile and warlike people who will favour the liberation of all the slaves. As landed property must fall in these U. S. it is well to give it this turn among the western people, it will be well to say that the mouth and navigation of a certain river will be shut against all Americans. It might answer to get some meetings of the people to instruct Congress against the French getting the Spanish cession, &c. You may inflame the minds of the people in a certain way so as not to let out any of our plan, and yet put things in such a situation as will make our plan when it takes place appear as a salvation of the

the people or as Common Sense was in 1776, for ground must be prepared before seed will bear properly—all the fermentation you can make to the southward, respecting the change of possession, &c. the better—when it is in your hands it will be well done. With respect to the U. S. we are to be pissed upon and degraded or I am deceived.

If any new ideas should occur I will write to you again—in the mean time we have no time to lose—You must positively be all expedition, I am fearful you will hardly have time to visit the Tennessee and yet it may be very necessary.

Adieu, God bless you and preserve you wherever you be.

Your affectionate friend,
NICs. ROMAYNE.

What would you think of my writing certain pieces for the Knoxville gazette, &c.

Burn or destroy my letters.

The Hon. Wm. Blount, Esq.
Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

110 *Junio*, 1797.

Mui señor mio,

Por qualquiera accidente que sea que la carta incluida fui descubierta, lo cierto es que debo à enviarla à v. m. y por ventura, sea un eslabon de la cadena execrable conque los enemigos callados de nuestra patria esparaban à deshonorarla.

Diome esta carta un amigo de mi, y de mi patria, en cuyas manos echaba por acaso, y porque sospechaba à essa carta de estar el descubrimiento de una especulacion de tierra, conservola para si, sin relacion à las razones de estado.

B. L. M. de V. M.

EL ENEMIGO ETERNO DE CADA
INFLUENCIA ESTRANGERA.

N. B. Escribo con el Español, aunque incorrectemente, porque es mui incognito, y en razon de que soi rodeado de los otros.

Sr. Don T: Pickering.

SIR,

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(TRANSLATION.)

11th June, 1797.

SIR,

By whatever accident the inclosed was discovered, it is certain that I should send it to you. Perhaps it may be a link of the execrable chain, with which the secret enemies of our country hope to dishonour it.

A friend of mine, and of my country, gave me this letter. It came to his hands by accident, and as he suspected that it was the discovery of a land speculation, he preserved it for himself, without regard to reasons of state.

Your most obedient servant,

AN ETERNAL ENEMY TO EVERY
FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

N. B. I write in the Spanish language, though incorrectly, because it is not much understood, and I am surrounded by other persons.

Timothy Pickering, Esq.

New-York, March 17th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I acknowledged your last favour that came to hand, and gave you some ideas respecting impressing certain facts on the minds of the western people. I can only repeat to you, that it might be well in you to advocate the Spaniards holding their present possessions as most advantageous to the western people, and committees or meetings ought to be held to request Congress to take the business in hand and remonstrate against the French getting possession.

I readily see that as the French are a military and not a commercial people, that if they do get possession they will oblige the western people to come into all their measures and caprices, or they will shut up the navigation—they will sow discord among the people, and the value of lands and all property will be greatly reduced.

These facts and probabilities may be enlarged upon in such manner as will best suit our purposes.

The time is fast approaching in which something must be absolutely done. We have not more than six weeks time. I have spoken to my sister about my visiting Europe—as yet she

she will not consent, but if you can't go, and you think that you are immediately necessary to make arrangements in the Tennessee, &c. then I will endeavour to go myself, if you can't. I know that you will be more important in Europe than I—so you are here—for I must be a nullity till you return. In the mean time think what will be necessary, act for the best and let me hear from you early on this last subject—At any event we must meet the beginning of May, and then determine—Keep yourself prepared to go and I will do the same,

Your affectionate friend.

The Honble

William Blount, Esq.

Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, 17th March 1797.

SIR,

On a further investigation of my business—after your departure from here—it is insisted on my going to Europe instantly—therefore I saile tomorrow at 9 oclock—I shall expect to see you verry soone—Every thing promises fair—Dont faill come soone.

JOHN CHISHOLM.

The Honorable

William Blount

Baltimore if he is left

Baltimer to be forward

to Alexandria Virgin.

Philadelphia March 17h. 1797.

DEAR JACK,

I now tell you in Earnest that at nine oclock tomorrow I go on Boord the Ship favorite & saile for Old England—Regected by the u S—I now steere for forein Climes—I wish you well most sencerely—and Dam all the rest I pray—Dam C: D H & S D—B H—The honorable S: Cr W—the loss of on is the choice of 20 and the gaines—of 2—to be plaine Jack—I will conqer or be Damd Let me be serious to you pr. fear I may neaver see you permit me to tell you that from my hart & soule I cencerely wish you well—& Eaver shall Esteem you for your Conduct whilts in Philadelphi—

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phiai—Wher honesty and vertue—is no Recomendation—I
am Determined to Dey or——after I arrive in Urope I will
write you—My love to Daveson Lovely and old Mrs. Mil-
ler—farewel
JOHN CHISHOLM.

Collonel John Mekee,
Teleco blockhouse
State of Tennessey
via Knoxville Post

Deer Rogers—I am gone to England you Kno for what—
give love to all my Indian friends—hold yourself Ready Keep
every thing secret & keep up there spirits—I go tomorrow—
Let Sligins and Greeson kno what they may expect and that
they see me Quick after my Return—My friend Keep your
secret and mine.

Pheladelphia

17th March 1797.

JOHN CHISHOLM.

Capn John Rogers in the Cherokee
nation Big Creek—To the
care of Ignatious Chisholm
Knoxville

New-York, March 21, 1797.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have not been in town for some days past to see if there
be any letters in the post-office for me from you—but I shall
see to-day—I have hinted to you in my last that I would go
myself upon the business we contemplate, if it met your ap-
probation and you should think it most proper, my determina-
tion has been founded upon the necessity of a person going
soon to set out certainly the beginning of May—and I did not
know that you would be fully in readiness—a second reason
is that I am sure that our plans will succeed and that there will
be no need of great talents in the business—confidence is all—
a third reason is that you may be advantageously engaged in
this country in my absence, whereas if I remain I can do no-
thing—I have an opinion that your presence here is essential
to our business—all this business is however submitted to you
and you must let me know your mind soon—The great
question is, whether we should have a meeting before you set
out from Philadelphia or after your return from the Tennes-
see—I would prefer the latter because you will know better
how

how the land lies—you are however to judge upon the subject.

From the last accounts from Europe England will hard run—she must make great exertions to save Portugal.

I shall make every arrangement in my affairs to set out from this as early as possible.

Yours affectionately,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon'ble William Blount Esq.

Senate of the United States, Philadelphia.

New-York, March 22d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

Least the letter I sent on yesterday should miscarry, I send you this as a duplicate—I do not know that any thing can occur that will make it requisite for me to write you again before I have pleasure of seeing you.

I stated to you in my two last letters, that if it met your approbation I should have no objection to cross the water myself—It is necessary some one should go on the business soon and I suppose you will not be in readiness—I now believe talents will not be wanting, a person of confidence is all that will be required—I think therefore if I go, you can be very usefully engaged here in my absence, while nothing can be done by me—The only difficulty that occurs is my sister—We must therefore be both in readiness, the one to go if the other can't—and I hope to see you here the last of April with certainty.

There are dispatches arrived here from Mr. Pinckney at Paris and they are gone on to the new President—It is supposed here that Congress will be immediately called, and that it is probable an embargo will be laid, and a new minister sent to France—at least an Envoy Extraordinary—I am therefore the more anxious about our arrangements, lest the embargo should be laid and the season lost to us—Your presence here therefore about the last of April will be highly necessary.

The news from Europe shew with certainty that the war will continue and perhaps with more acrimony than ever—England I am persuaded will be hard run, but if she acts with boldness and firmness, she will gain I am fully persuaded the day.

We have no news here of moment—Our Legislature is adjourned—All people are hard run for money—Your friend
Mr.

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Mr. Burr has returned to the law and now practises in our courts—there will be great and wonderful changes in the circumstances of people here in the course of three or four years—Our merchants are under very serious alarms on account of the French cruisers—Our commerce if unprotected will be very much diminished and yet it is hard to say it can be done—I hope this letter will yet find you in Philadelphia and that I may have your ideas about my visiting Europe—If you think it will be best I will make every preparation and every exertion—And as the time is very short—I am anxious for your sentiments—Pray therefore write me as soon as you can.

I am in great truth,

Sincerely y'rs,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

I have suggested to you in my letter of yesterday our meeting before you went to the Tennessee, but I have expressed a wish that it may be after, as you may survey things and know matters better than you can at present.

The Hon'ble William Blount, Esq.

Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, 28th April, 1797.

I am much indebted to you, Sir, for your friendly letter of the 14th of this month, enclosing one from Mr. Pulteney whose good opinion gives me high satisfaction. (That letter is now returned.)

Taking it for granted that I understand to what business you allude, I could wish to have a full explanation of your sentiments on the subject—it may be done I think in writing.—You may depend on secrecy and discretion on my part.

The general sketch of what has taken place here is that a person came to me to make certain important propositions of enterprise, to which I listened, but said I had no power to act.

He appeared to me determined and active, though illiterate and unfit to assume command.

He urged to have my consent to go to Europe, to tell his own story, to which I consented, (though with some hesitation) not thinking myself authorized to give a positive refusal.

It

It strikes me that if a person of confidence, with proper authority from home, were to accompany him to the scene of action something might possibly be effected.

Information of every sort will be gratefully received.

N. B. I have no intention of sending my Secretary any where.

Believe me, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT LISTON.

Dr. Romaine.

New-York, May 12, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your favour from Petersburg—I have serious thoughts of going to Europe the middle of the ensuing week, but I think it will be of moment for me to see you—I think we may meet at Eliz. Town—You can come on—fix your time and I will meet you—After the President's speech very little will be done for some days—Write me immediately what had best be done.

Yours sincerely,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

I have two letters from Sir W. Pulteney on the subject of our business, but there is nothing decisive.

The Hon'ble William Blount, Esq.

Senate of the United States,

Philadelphia.

New-York, May 13th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote you yesterday acquainting you of my wishes that we should have an interview at Eliz. Town—But upon reflection I think it would give room to a variety of false conjectures and therefore you had best come on directly to New-York—I informed Mr. Jarvis who is among the inquisitive ones that I conceived you had some business with Mr. Vander Hewitt and might probably be in New-York.

There is a fine ship called the Chesapeak which will sail for Bristol about the middle of the ensuing week, at least her sails are bent and she is nearly loaded—if I am to visit Europe I had better go in her.

There

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There is some probability that I may be in France—I will thank you to procure for me some good letters from Mr. JEFFERSON and others. I have spoken to Col. BURR about a land scheme between you and me, and have requested his attention in getting letters for me—Your coming to this place will ensure this business. There are circumstances which will prevent my visiting Philadelphia were I so inclined, but you may easily conceive how my time is taken up in preparing for my voyage—I am very earnest to see you, and if I am to sail—there is no time to be lost—I shall get myself in readiness to go in twenty-four hours notice.

Yours affectionately,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon'ble William Blount, Esq.

Senate of the United States,

Philadelphia.

New-York, May 23, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

The ship in which I intended to have sailed for Europe left this on Friday. I momentarily expected to hear from you.

I have informed you that I have rec'd two letters on the subject of the business, written to you, and by the Packet I expect further information—This and the expectation of seeing you retains me here—

I have it not in my power to visit the seat of Congress, and I must therefore expect the pleasure of seeing you here where we can meet more privately than at any other place—A variety of conjectures may take place if we meet in Jersey—Let me have the pleasure of hearing from you as soon as you arrive, and your sentiments on the subject of our meeting.

I am with much sincerity,

Affect'y yours,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon'ble William Blount, Esq.

Senate of the United States,

Philadelphia.

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, Monday, May 29, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I acknowledge the receipt of your several letters to which I will reply to-morrow—I beg you to attribute my omission in answering sooner to any thing but the want of respect or esteem for you both of which I have cherished from our earliest acquaintance and shall never part with but with extreme pain.

Wm. BLOUNT.

Doct. Romyne, New-York.

Philadelphia, May 31, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I can't come to New-York to see you and I much want to see you. Can't you come to this place to see me, I beg the favour of you to do so—And if you can come I wish you would come this week—To see each other face to face it would be best and to a man of your abilities and observation a journey to this place cannot be lost—

I am, dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem,

Wm. BLOUNT.

Doct. Romyne, New-York.

New-York, June 2d, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your two letters, and I must take it into consideration the visit to Philadelphia.

The late packet which is arrived has brought me no letters which surprizes me much—The affairs of Europe are indeed such that the great ones are mostly occupied respecting matters which are pressing upon them—I do not know what to think respecting peace, but it appears to me that England will be more eager to obtain it now than when I left Europe—but I have no idea that a peace will be permanent—The parties will only respire and begin again—At this time I consider our prospects more uncertain than I did. I had penned some sentiments to be sent to you in case I should leave this before the meeting of Congress—I wish you had them, but I dare not trust them out of my hands.

Should

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Should however the war continue in Europe it will be impossible for this country to escape being parties in it.

Yours respectfully,

NICs. ROMAYNE.

The Hon'ble William Blount, Esq.
Senate of the United States,
Philadelphia.

New-York, July 2, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been confined to my room for a fortnight past with St. Anthony's fire in one of my feet, and though I am now nearly recovered yet the warm weather deters me from undertaking a journey to Philad. though I am extremely anxious to see you.

I think myself very fortunate that I did not go to Europe this spring—I am much disposed to think the business is over now—Whether France will make a peace with England this season I have my doubts, and that nation if the war continues will not be able to shew much exertion under the present load of accumulated debt—What is to be the fate of our country is very uncertain, but I have my fears that if the war continues France will be very unpleasant to us.

I presume it is now understood that Louisiana is to have a new master—how will the change be liked by the settlements in the Tennessee and the Ohio? You know I had some thoughts when I could command a little money to invest it in lands in that quarter, but I now hesitate very much on that subject.

Though a peace may take place between England and——

Note. The preceding was found among the Papers of Nicholas Romayne, and acknowledged by him to be an unfinished Letter to Wm. Blount.—Vide Capt. Eaton's Report.

A post upon Hosage river a branch of the Missouri about 100 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri—established as a trading post. This post was contemplated in the winter 1794, and may or may not be established. It is reported Hosage Indians are at war with the Spaniards.

Petit Coat a post 3 or 9 miles up the Missouri with a small garrison say a militia subaltern's command. The circum-jacent militia are about 80.

St. Louis 15 miles below the mouth of the Missouri upon the bank of the Mississippi situate upon a rock a serjeant and 12.—Here the Commander with the rank of captain resides, cirjacent militia about 300.

St. Janevier 65 miles below St. Louis no soldiers in lieu militia about 180—This post is commanded by a captain of militia—At this place is a regular quadrangular stockade capable of being defended by 400 men but no cannon mounted.

New Madrid commanded by Col. Lusare with the rank of Commandant of Upper Louisiana.

Indorsed—Judge Turner, Memor. of Force, &c.

Deposition of Doctor Nicholas Romaine, aged Thirty-nine Years and upwards; taken before the Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed to prepare and report Articles of Impeachment against William Blount, a Senator of the United States, impeached by the said House of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, on the 15th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th Days of July, 1797.

DR. NICHOLAS ROMAYNE, being sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, doth depose and say:

THAT he had been acquainted with William Blount since the year 1782, when he first came to this city, as a member of Congress. Some time after, he had occasion to correspond with him, respecting some property belonging to the deponent in North-Carolina. Upon that and various other subjects, the correspondence between them had continued till very lately. While Mr. Blount was governor of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio, the deponent was requested by a friend, to write to him, and to propose the solution of certain queries respecting the military lands on Cumberland, in that territory, for the purchase of which, it was contemplated to form a company, and to propose to Mr. Blount to become a party. This proposition was accordingly made to him. Mr. Blount's answer to these queries and propositions, was communicated by Captain Chisholm, at that time an entire stranger to the deponent, but whom Mr. Blount recommended as a proper person to be employed by the company, as a purchasing agent.

The

The plan, however, was wholly dropt, on account of the person who proposed it, going to Europe. Sometime afterwards, the deponent formed a resolution of paying a visit to Europe; which being known to Mr. Blount, a proposition originated between them, that an attempt should be made there to form a company on the principles, and for the purposes formerly mentioned, and to include Governor Blount and Captain Chisholm as partners. This happened previous to the 12th of July, 1795, on which day the deponent sailed for England. An agreement to this effect was made and formally executed; but from motives of delicacy, and apprehensions of the fall of lands on account of the political events in Europe, no direct attempts were made to carry it into effect. The deponent, however, left maps and papers on the subject, with certain persons of consideration, in England, and was requested by them, and some others, to procure from the state of Tennessee, a law for enabling them, as aliens, to hold lands:—These persons contemplated to purchase lands, as the price, circumstances, and their own convenience should dictate: in case of their becoming purchasers, it was understood that Governor Blount, and the deponent, might be interested in the purchases; upon terms, however, which were not settled; and the propriety of the purchases was to depend, in a great measure, upon his opinion. On his arrival in this country, he was to keep up a correspondence with them, which he has done.

In October last, the deponent arrived in America. He has not been out of the state of New-York since, till he was summoned to this place. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to Governor Blount, informing him that he had done nothing in their land-business, more than has been before mentioned. To this letter he never received any answer; but about the beginning of February last, Governor Blount came to New-York, on business of his own: at least his coming was not at the instance, or with the privity of the deponent. During his stay there, he and the deponent frequently met as acquaintances: had much political conversation, and frequently conversed on the value of property in the United States, particularly landed property. It seemed to be his wish that the deponent should urge his friends in Europe to become purchasers of land at that time; which, however, he positively declined, on account of what he considered to be the political state of this country. He particularly stated to Governor Blount, that the French government was at that time very hostile to the government of the United States;

that in his opinion there was no probability that General Pinckney would be received as Minister of the United States; that this opinion was founded on a knowledge of what appeared to be the system and temper of France, when he came from there in July last; that he had much reason to believe that Spain had made a cession to France, of Louisiana and the Floridas; that the French, possessing great powers, had great views in all their operations, and that he thought it not improbable they had in contemplation the acquisition of Canada and the whole Western country; that he and his friends might be prepared to think of becoming *sans-culottes*.

Mr. Blount seemed to be much interested by this conversation, which was very extensive, and which became at length more particularly directed to the state of Tennessee, and the manner in which it might be affected by these events. He said he had taken great pains to settle that state, and to render it important; he spoke of his being concerned in administering the government there, on the subject of which he said, he had been treated very ill by the President, or some of the executive officers of the United States. The conversation indeed became so affecting to him, that he wept; upon which the subject was dropt for that time. His stay at New-York was several days;—he was out at the house of the deponent one or two nights; and there were frequent conversations on the same subject: in the course of which, the deponent expressed his opinion, that under present circumstances, the lands in Tennessee and in the Western country, in general, would be of little or no value. A remark was made, that in case of a war between the United States and France, the situation of the Western country must be very disagreeable, and that in such an event, those people, in order to relieve themselves from the calamities which must appear so threatening, would perhaps be impelled to separate from the government of the United States. Speaking of the Tennessee lands in the state of New-York, and of some sales of them lately made abroad, and comparing them with the price of lands in Tennessee, the deponent was led to remark, that it was a pity Louisiana also, as well as Canada, could not be in the hands of the English; as neighbourhood to that government added so much to the value in the sale of lands. Mr. Blount replied, that he had no doubt of the justness of the observation: that it was indeed to be regretted that the British did not possess Louisiana, and that such an event might very easily be brought about. The deponent expressed some doubts of this opinion; having always understood

derstood that the people in the Western country were much attached to France, and unfriendly to the English, which would create great obstacles to such an enterprise. Governor Blount admitted this: but remarked that the Spaniards were very weak, and would make but feeble resistance in that country. In consequence of this conversation, he proposed going to England on this subject. The deponent told him if he chose to go, he would give him letters to persons who might introduce him to those in power. He then informed the deponent that Captain Chisholm and several others had a plan of doing something against some part of Florida, about which they had been admitted to some interviews with a person of consequence in Philadelphia. This was the first the deponent heard of Chisholm in this business, nor has he ever had any intercourse or communication with him relating to it. On his expressing a desire to know the nature and extent of Chisholm's plan, Governor Blount observed, that he did not know it in its full extent himself; because Chisholm kept himself very much to himself; but he apprehended it to be some plundering party or petty enterprise. The deponent observed, that he was very sorry for this affair of Chisholm, and observed that it ought to be prevented. He also expressed much surprise that the person of consequence in Philadelphia who had been alluded to, should see such a man as Chisholm, on a business of that nature, and added that Governor Blount ought to see that person of consequence, and caution him against listening to such overtures from persons of that description. Mr. Blount observed, that he had no acquaintance with that person, as he had never waited on him. The deponent then begged him to take care that Chisholm should be prevented from pressing his project; he replied, he could command Chisholm when near, but could not answer or control him at a distance.

The conversation then turned, for the first time, to the Floridas; and the deponent observed, that it was matter of regret they did not belong to the United States; mentioning among other things, the convenience of having such great natural boundaries as the Mississippi, and the gulph of Mexico: that if he should go to England, he ought to impress this idea upon the people in power, and point out to them the favourable effect that their aiding such an event, would have on the United States, to whom Florida was of great importance, while it could be of but little value to England.

The deponent remarked, generally, that it was understood and agreed by Mr. Blount and himself, throughout the whole of their conversations on this subject, that the most favourable state of things for the United States, was the possession of Louisiana by Spain; but if it were to pass from their hands, it was deemed by them of great importance that England should possess it rather than France.

With these general impressions, Governor Blount left New-York, that he should consult some persons of importance in Philadelphia, both in the government and out; and learn from them, how far such a project might receive their approbation or countenance, or be deemed advisable by them: that he should also, for the same purpose, sound certain persons in Virginia, the frontiers of North Carolina, the state of Tennessee, and generally, throughout the Southern states; and the people in general, in the state of Tennessee: that he should particularly attend to those persons in the Indian country, and elsewhere, who had been engaged in Genet's projects; as they were already under operation, they must be managed; and that the deponent should forward to Philadelphia, such letters of introduction for Governor Blount, to persons in England, as might be thought useful. This the deponent engaged to do, and soon after wrote to a gentleman in England, informing him that a person of consequence would sail from this country, some time in May, for England, on a business of this kind.

After Governor Blount returned to Congress, several letters passed between him and the deponent, on the same subject. In one of them he expressed the necessity of his standing well with the four Southern nations of Indians, and holding his importance among them. He also, in these letters, expressed his fears about the conduct of some persons in this country, who had contemplated this business, and might attempt to execute it in an improper and imprudent manner. These considerations united, and some other matters not connected with them, induced the deponent to think of sailing for England, in the month of May; before he set out, he expected to receive from Governor Blount full information of his opinions and the result of his enquiries,—and for that purpose requested an interview, that there might be a full and free conversation on the whole business; to this he received no answer for some time, but learned from other persons, that Mr. Blount was in Philadelphia. His neglect in this respect, made the deponent hesitate, and the late change
of

of circumstances in Europe, made him doubt of the success of the application to the British government, at this time; he had also received some further account of the force of the Spaniards in that quarter, and some information said to have come from a respectable foreigner, who had been in that country, that there were in the Southern and Western parts of the United States, large numbers of men, who, it was likely, would aid the French and Spaniards. These circumstances had determined the deponent to abandon this business altogether, when he received a letter from Mr. Blount, expressing his regard for him, and apologizing for not writing; and soon after, another, requesting him to come to Philadelphia; to this the deponent did not consent, and there the intercourse on this subject ended, except that the deponent wrote a letter to Mr. Blount, expressing his opinion that the business was ended, to which he never received an answer.

Mr. Davy's Deposition.

On the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, in pursuance of an order of the Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment against William Blount, a Senator of the United States, impeached by the said house of high crimes and misdemeanors, Mr. William Davy, a partner of the mercantile house of Davy, Roberts and Co. of the city of Philadelphia, merchants, appeared before the said Committee, and a solemn affirmation having been administered to him in due form of law, by Reynold Keene, Esquire, one of the associate judges of the court of Common Pleas of the city of Philadelphia, and an alderman of the said city, did depose and say:

That, on the twenty-eighth of February last, he chartered the brig John Henderson, Captain Ephraim White, of the port of Philadelphia; which was loaded by him, and cleared out for Hamburgh, but was actually bound with the consent of the owners and underwriters, for London; that she was so cleared for Hamburgh to protect her from French cruisers; and on this account he had resolved to take no passengers, nor any letters unless from persons well known, and in whom there could be great confidence; she was not advertised; but, as had been his practice, the deponent informed the Secretary of State and the British minister of this opportunity, in like manner as, on a former occasion, of sending a vessel to Spain, he had informed the Spanish

minister. A few days after, Mr. Liston's Secretary, Mr. Thornton, called on the deponent, and asked if he would permit a special messenger, a confidential person, whom they wished to send to England, to go in this vessel. The deponent told Mr. Thornton that, although the vessel would be cleared out for Hamburgh, and her papers carry that appearance, she certainly was intended to proceed for London; that he had determined not to take passengers, and feared the vessel might be endangered by having such a person with dispatches on board. Mr. Thornton assured the deponent that the messenger was a confidential person, that the dispatches with which he would be intrusted were of great consequence, that they would be taken great care of, and would be leaded in order to be sunk in case of danger of capture. Mr. Thornton did not inform the deponent of the nature of the dispatches; but as the deponent thought there would be an advantage in intrusting his own private dispatches to so confidential a person, he consented to take him, and so informed Mr. Thornton, adding, at the same time, that he would charge the messenger with his own dispatches. A few days after, while the brig was loading, a person called on the deponent, and said he was the person recommended by Mr. Thornton to go in the brig. He was a hardy, lusty, brawny, weather-beaten man, and much resembled one of the king's messengers formerly seen by the deponent, who addressed him as such, but was immediately informed he was not the person. The deponent conducted him from the counting-house to the parlour, and offered him some refreshment, which he accepted; and, considering him as a person in whom the British minister confided, the deponent intrusted him with the secret of the voyage, and his intention of committing his private dispatches to his care; the deponent particularly mentioned that, although cleared for Hamburgh, the vessel would actually proceed to London; but requested him, however, to be perfectly silent on this business, which he engaged to attend to. While drinking some porter, he appeared sociable; and, on the deponent's remarking, that, although he had mistaken his name, he was impressed with an idea of having seen him before, he told the deponent, No; that he was a back-countryman; that he had long lived among the Indians, and was with them during the last war; that he was well known to the Spaniards; that his name was captain Chisholm; that he had been an interpreter to the Indians last winter in this city; that

that the Spaniards had frequently imprisoned and treated him cruelly in Pensacola; that they dreaded him, and he hated them, and was now determined to take his full revenge on them. He added, that his influence with the Indians was such that he could do with them as he pleased, that he knew every part of the Mississippi; that there was no man in America who knew the forts and their exact situation so well as himself, and that he was now going to London to accompany and conduct a squadron to the attack of Pensacola. The deponent smiled at the idea, and regarded it as a quixotism, and not the real object of his voyage:—he said he was serious, and that nothing would be more easily executed; that the Spaniards had no posts of any consequence on the whole of the Mississippi; that one hundred, or one hundred and fifty, a mere handful of men, might destroy them all. He appeared anxious to give an opinion of his own consequence as a British officer. Soon after, he called on the deponent, and introduced as his respectable and confidential friend, Mr. Christian Jacob Huetter, who was to accompany him on this expedition, and requested a passage for him in the brig. The deponent was then impressed with the danger of permitting such a man as Chisholm to go in the brig, and stated strongly to Chisholm his fears; he replied that the deponent need not be afraid, for he was furnished with other papers fully sufficient to cover his design: he then shewed the deponent a number of letters, unsealed, from Mr. Liston to persons in Hamburgh, stating him to be a person going there on a land speculation, and one for a person in London, who the deponent then supposed to be either one of the under secretaries of state or Mr. Liston's private agent, calling him, "the person of whom I have written to you relative to the land-business." This letter was not directed to the person by an official description. These, and the strong assurances of care with his dispatches, induced the deponent to consent to their going in the vessel. The brig was prevented from sailing on the day first intended, but their baggage was put on board, and Sunday the 19th of March, was fixed positively for her sailing. She had dropped down the river, and the captain had called on the deponent and received his dispatches; the private dispatches of the deponent had been delivered by him to Chisholm, who he supposed was then on board; but the same evening the deponent was surprised by Doctor Rogers calling on him to enquire for Chisholm, who, he said, was still in town. Doctor Rogers wished to ask him some further questions concerning the Welch Indians, of whom
Chisholm,

Chisholm, he said, knew more than any other person he had ever met with. The deponent felt much alarmed at this report, of Chisholm's not being on board; fearing that, from some cause or other, the captain had left him behind, and with him the deponent's private dispatches. The deponent went immediately to Mr. Liston, and informed him of these apprehensions. The deponent had, before, given a hint to Mr. Thornton that Chisholm was a babbler, and now mentioned to Mr. Liston every particular, and the probability there was that he had babbled in the same way to others; that he had shewn the deponent Mr. Liston's letters; that he had been frequently seen with Frenchmen; that he appeared to be either a very weak man, or to be acting a double game. Mr. Liston observed, that his letters were given as a matter of prudence as well in relation to the vessel as to the dispatches; but he appeared uneasy and alarmed at the apprehension of the deponent that the vessel had gone without Chisholm, whose baggage was all on board, and he determined to accompany the deponent in search of him immediately that night. Mr. Liston and the deponent accordingly went together, and, while Mr. Liston stopped at the corner of Second and Arch streets, the deponent went into Lesh's tavern, where Chisholm had lodged. Chisholm and Huetter were there together, and Chisholm was vociferating vehemently amidst a crowd of Frenchmen. They were called out of the room at the request of the deponent, who expressed to them his surprise to see them there after the captain was gone, and told them of his alarm. They replied, that the captain was not gone; and to convince him, they would go to the house where he had lived, and endeavour to find him out. The deponent left them and returned to Mr. Liston; told him they were not gone, and that they said the captain had not gone, but that the deponent did not believe them, and would follow them in search of the captain.—It was now between ten and eleven o'clock; Mr. Liston returned to his house, and the deponent followed Chisholm and Huetter; and after strict enquiry, was satisfied that the captain was not gone; and was further informed by Chisholm, that the captain had engaged to call for them at five o'clock the next morning. The deponent returned with them to Lesh's tavern, told them to wait for him and he would see them again that night late as it was, near twelve o'clock. The deponent then went to Mr. Liston, and informed him of his enquiries and their result; and at the same time took the liberty to observe that, in the deponent's

ponent's opinion, Mr. Liston had employed a person, or was engaged with one, not entitled to his confidence. Mr. Liston seemed seriously impressed with the deponent's information of the exposure the man had made, and immediately wrote a letter to Mr. George Hammond, Under Secretary of State, which the deponent delivered that night, or about one o'clock, to Chisholm, and the next morning they went out of town.

The deponent, being interrogated by the committee, whether he knew the contents of the letter to Mr. Hammond, says, that Mr. Liston put it into his hands to read: that the purport of it was to inform Mr. Hammond, that he should hear further from him on the subject by the packet; and that, in the mean time, it would be proper to be cautious: the packet was to sail the following week. The terms of the letter were ambiguous in themselves; but connected by a person who understood the subject, evidently conveyed a caution against Chisholm. Mr. Liston told the deponent, that the man, Chisholm, had come forward to him with certain propositions, which it was not within his province to decide on; but that he thought himself obliged to refer him to his government, and twenty or thirty guineas for his passage was a trifling expense. The deponent particularly mentioned to Mr. Liston the bawling he had heard Chisholm make among the Frenchmen, and of his wearing the national cockade, and alarm it occasioned to the deponent, on account of his vessel and cargo. He replied, that was a cover to his designs, and for the purpose of gaining information. Soon after the brig sailed, Mr. Liston paid the usual price for Chisholm's passage, conformable to Mr. Thornton's engagement. Christian Jacob Huetter paid for his own passage. The vessel left the Capes on the first of April, and has never been heard of since by the deponent.—Chisholm wrote letters to the deponent from the Capes. In the first, dated March 23d, he requests the deponent to inform Mr. Thornton that "all is well so far." Under cover of a letter which the deponent received from the captain, was an open letter from Chisholm directed to William Blount, Senator in Congress. The deponent was thunderstruck—knowing Mr. Blount's character and politics, to see a letter to him from a man who pretended to be pursuing such a plan as Chisholm's. The deponent read the letter, and took it to Mr. Liston. It contained only, in general terms, that all was going on well: that he expected a long voyage,
and

and desired remembrance to his family and friends; and that Blount would inform them how he was going on. Mr. Liston advised to seal and deliver the letter, which was done.

The deponent declares, that it never occurred to him that the United States were either directly or indirectly concerned in the progress or consequences of this project; but he considered it (if really projected, which he very much doubted—apprehending Chisholm's real object to be something very different) as merely a wild enterprise between England and Spain, until the late publications on the subject.

Being further interrogated, whether any conversation had since passed between him and Mr. Liston, or Mr. Thornton, on this affair, the deponent saith, that about two or three weeks ago, Mr. Thornton informed him that they had some suspicions that Chisholm had not gone in the brig, and requested the deponent to find out the pilot, and enquire.—This was before Blount's affair exploded. The deponent obtained the information that Chisholm had actually gone, and communicated it to Mr. Thornton.

Being interrogated, whether any conversation had taken place between Mr. Liston and him, since the discovery of Blount's business? the deponent answers,—that on the day of Mr. Blount's examination in the Senate, the deponent was passing by Mr. Bond's house, and was called in by Mr. Liston.—After other conversation relative to the papers of a captured vessel, Mr. Liston asked the deponent, if he had informed any body that he, Mr. Liston, had paid Chisholm's passage? The deponent told Mr. Liston, he had not—nor had said any thing else on the subject; but, that he had strong reason to apprehend, that Chisholm had talked of it himself to several persons. Mr. Liston said, he could not have done his duty if he had not sent him on to his government, for them to hear and decide on his plans, which were beyond his powers to act on.

WILLIAM DAVY.

*Extract of a Letter from Thomas Davy to William Davy,
dated "London, September 13, 1797."*

"The papers you sent me concerning the business with
"which captain Chisholm was commissioned to our court
did

“ did not at all surprise me ; I do not wonder it should have
 “ transpired from such hands. He made some vain attempts
 “ to borrow cash from me, on the credit of your recom-
 “ mendation ; being desirous that not the slightest recom-
 “ mendation from you should be neglected, I sent to Lord
 “ Grenville’s office to be satisfied of the reality of the story
 “ he told me : and there found that, though his business was
 “ treated by the ministers as it deserved, they had not, as he
 “ pretended to me, refused him pecuniary assistance, but had
 “ absolutely supplied him largely ; I mean, in a manner
 “ fully adequate to his pretensions. In consequence hereof,
 “ on my sending him word that it would not suit me to ad-
 “ vance him any money, I saw no more of him.”

*The Deposition of George Leshar, aged 48 Years and upwards,
 being duly sworn before the Committee of the House of Re-
 presentatives of the United States, appointed to prepare and
 report Articles of Impeachment against William Blount; a
 Senator of the United States, impeached by the said House,
 of High Crimes and Misdemeanors—by Reynold Keene, one
 of the Aldermen of the City of Philadelphia, on the 19th day
 of July, 1797.*

GEORGE LESHER, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that, for several years he has kept a tavern in the city of Philadelphia—that some time late in the last fall, a man, called captain Chisholm, came to his house with a party of Indians ; that after they went away, he remained, until about the first of April, within which time he observed to this deponent, that it would be a fine thing if the Floridas could be taken from the Spaniards.

That there lodged in his house, at the same time, a man of the name of Huetter, who, he understood, intended to go to Hamburgh—three days before the vessel was to sail, in which he was to go, Chisholm came to this deponent, in his back room, and said, he was going to Europe, and should make his fortune—on the next day, in the evening, he came to him again, and said now he should certainly go, as every thing was fixed and the vessel ready—he told to this deponent, as a secret, what his plan was—that the vessel in which he was going, would clear out for Hamburgh, but would go to England, where he should land, and expected to get a com-
 mission—

mission—and that he should sail from thence with a fleet, to Pensacola or Louisiana, where he should be joined by a number of Indians; for he could raise two thousand of them, by firing a cannon.

On the evening before Chisholm sailed, he shewed to this deponent a packet of papers, about three inches thick, covered with lead, and sealed, for England—which he said he should throw overboard if taken by the French, and become himself a Frenchman.

On the next morning he went away in the Wilmington stage, for Newcastle, at which place the deponent understood he was to take shipping.

While Chisholm was at the house of this deponent, he was arrested by an under-sheriff, as the endorser of a note of four hundred dollars, drawn by Governor Blount. For some time, he opposed the payment, saying that he did not owe the money. However, after much conversation, he went out, attended by the sheriff, and on his return, declared that he had paid the four hundred dollars, which he regretted, as he had been forced to sacrifice, at the loss of five or six dollars in the hundred, a note of five hundred dollars, which he had received from Mr. Bond, the British consul.

GEORGE LESHER.

*Letter from Timothy Pickering, Esq. to the Committee, dated
Philadelphia, July 26, 1797.*

GENTLEMEN,

In a note received from Mr. Harper, I was requested to put into writing, for the use of the Committee, the substance of my conversation with Mr. Liston, the British minister; particularly that part which relates to the correspondence with Dr. Romaine. I give it as follows:

When the Spanish minister, the Chevalier de Yrujo, had formally expressed to me his suspicion that an expedition was preparing on the Lakes, on the part of the English, the object of which was to attack Upper Louisiana, I mentioned it to Mr. Liston. He instantly answered, that he had no knowledge of any such preparations. I remarked, that to me the project suggested did not bear the resemblance of probability: that very great embarrassments must be encountered in transporting troops, cannon, stores and provisions, from Canada to the Mississippi: and besides, that the
British

British had not in that country a force that was adequate to the execution of such a plan.

At a subsequent period, I am inclined to think it was in the latter part of April, after the Spanish minister had repeated his suspicion of an expedition intended from Canada against Upper Louisiana, and which I again mentioned to Mr. Liston, the latter again said that he had no knowledge of such a design. But he added, that a proposal had been made to him of an expedition to the southward, against the Spanish possessions: but which he had no power to authorize. And as to General Clarke of Georgia, to whom the Spanish minister said he certainly knew that propositions had been made by the British relative to an attack on the Floridas, he (Mr. Liston) did not recollect ever to have heard of the man; and certainly that he had no knowledge of any such propositions.

Mr. Liston has informed me, that when he objected to the project of an expedition against the Spanish territories at the southward, because on the plan of the projector it could not be attempted without violating the neutral rights of the United States, the projector answered, that the men going from the United States would march *unarmed*; and not take arms until they should be within the Spanish territory. When he told the projector that he (Mr. Liston) had no authority to institute such an expedition, he asked if the Governor or General commanding in Canada could not authorize it. To this Mr. Liston answered, that the Governor doubtless possessed certain military powers; but he presumed that he would not think himself authorized to direct the execution of a plan of this kind, and all that he (Mr. Liston) could do, would be to write to the British government, and await its answer; which indeed might be long in coming, or might not come at all; partly on account of the important objects which engaged its attention, and partly on account of the strong objections to the project itself. This was about the beginning of January last. The answer not arriving as soon as the eagerness of the projector expected, he became impatient and was extremely pressing to go to England to obtain, in person, an answer to the British government; to which Mr. Liston said, he, with much reluctance, consented.

I asked Mr. Liston if a trading scheme formed any part of the project which had been proposed to him: He answered in the affirmative.

Governor Blount having, in his letter to Carey, expressed his doubts whether Chisholm was gone to England, I asked
Mr.

Mr. Liston of the fact. He answered, that he was certainly gone; that he embarked in a vessel from Philadelphia; that he (Mr. Liston) had paid for his passage; and that he had seen letters brought by the pilot, received from Chisholm when he was far down the Delaware or at the Capes.

Having learnt from the Committee, or some of its members, that they had received information, that Chisholm had said that he discharged a debt for which he had become engaged (I think for Governor Blount) by making some sacrifice on a note, or obligation from Mr. Bond, the British Consul, I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Liston; who answered, that he knew of no such thing; and that he had never communicated to Mr. Bond any information of the project in question. Afterwards (I believe on the same day) I met Mr. Liston, when he told me that he had mentioned to Mr. Bond, the story of his note, or obligation to Chisholm. Mr. Bond said he had never given either; that he had never paid him any money, nor even knew the man. As this story, however, tended to excite a suspicion that other monies might have been paid to Chisholm by Mr. Liston, or by his directions, I asked him if he had ever paid any thing to or for Chisholm, besides his passage-money. He answered that he had not: that even his passage-money was not paid into the hands of Chisholm, but to the master, or owner of the vessel in which he embarked. But as Chisholm on his arrival in London, a perfect stranger, would need some money for his immediate support, he (Mr. Liston) gave him a draught on his banker for twenty pounds sterling: but whether this has been actually paid to him or not, Mr. Liston has not received information. And in his letter to Mr. Hammond concerning Chisholm's voyage, Mr. Liston said he had intimated the necessity of paying for his passage back to America: apologizing for permitting him to go to England, by saying, that the whole would be an expense of only about an hundred pounds. Mr. Liston added, that these were all the monies ever paid or promised by him to any person or persons concerned in the project in question.

With respect to Dr. Romaine, Mr. Liston informed me, that a day or two before he left London, in March 1796, he breakfasted with the American minister, and found there Dr. Romaine, of New-York, who was introduced to him by Mr. Pinckney. That this circumstance, with the Doctor's civility, and the strain of his conversation, led him to form a favourable opinion of his character. That he never saw him before; nor has since seen him. That he did not know of his

his return from Europe, till towards the latter part of last April (and a few days after Chisholm had embarked for England) when, with some surprise, he received a letter from the Doctor, dated the 14th of that month.

That in this letter the Doctor reminded him of their interview at Mr. Pinckney's: expressed his good wishes; and, alluding, as it appeared, to Mr. Liston, though in covered terms, to the project of an expedition to be undertaken with the aid of persons resident within the United States, and to certain matters that had been discussed between the British minister and some of the parties, mentioned the delicacy of Mr. Liston's situation: cautioned him against interfering in a business that could not with propriety be patronized by a person in a public character, and particularly put him upon his guard against certain men who had made application to him upon the subject; and who (the Doctor said) were not to be trusted. That Dr. Romaine named no one; but hinted, that if he had an opportunity of communicating with Mr. Liston, he might enter into further particulars.

Mr. Liston said, that as he had already reasons to doubt the good faith of some of those who had come to talk with him on the business, he was still more apprehensive, in consequence of the suspicions thrown out by Dr. Romaine, and hence became anxious to draw from him further explanations, especially with regard to individuals.

He therefore wrote to the Doctor, on the 28th of April, the letter which is in the possession of the committee; calculated, as he thought, for this purpose; as it was meant to inspire confidence, by telling the truth. That the mention in the letter of *sending a person of consequence to the scene of action*, Mr. Liston said, was occasioned by a passage in the Doctor's letter to him, in which he seemed particularly to dissuade from a step of this nature; falsely supposing that Mr. Liston had already taken some resolution in respect to it. Mr. Liston said, that conceiving the sending of such a confidential person to be a necessary preliminary, in case the project received attention in England, he stated this opinion in a few words to the Doctor, in the hope of inducing him to give his sentiments fully on that point: But that he (Mr. Liston) had been disappointed in the Doctor's answer, which did not give the frank communication which was desired; that his style was still mysterious; that he seemed to have misunderstood what was written to him; and avoided entering into any detail. That Mr. Liston did not reply; and that here the correspondence ended.

I have been enabled to detail so many particulars on this subject of Doctor Romayne's correspondence by conversing with Mr. Liston again, since the committee's request was communicated to me by Mr. Harper. On my hinting to him the wish of the committee (which I did immediately on receiving Mr. Sitgreaves' letter of the 13th inst.) to be possessed of Doctor Romayne's letter to which Mr. Liston's was an answer, he said it was destroyed.

In the same letter the committee expressed their desire to see Lord Grenville's letter, which I informed them Mr. Liston had shewn to me; and intimated that a copy of it would be convenient. I have already shewn you the original, by Mr. Liston's consent; and I now enclose a copy, together with a copy of the note in which Mr. Liston sent it to me, to shew under what reserve it was thus submitted, viz. that it should not be exhibited to prove the criminality of any of the persons concerned in the plan in question; for which reason I have left a blank, in the copy, where the name of one of those persons was introduced.

I return the original letter of April 28th, from Mr. Liston to Dr. Romayne, which was found among the papers of the latter.

I am, Gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Samuel Sitgreaves, Abraham Baldwin, R. G. Harper, John Dawson, James Bayard,	}	Esquires;—a Committee of the House of Representatives on Governor Blount's Impeach- ment.
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R. Liston presents his respects to Colonel Pickering, Secretary of State.

I have the honour of inclosing (according to your desire) Lord Grenville's original dispatch to me respecting the proposal for an attack on a part of the Spanish territories in North-America: and you have my leave to shew it to the President, and to make what other use of its contents you may in your discretion judge expedient; always with the reserve (which I am confident you will not think it improper I should

JULY, 1798.

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should put in) that it shall not be exhibited to prove the criminality of any of the persons concerned in the plan in question.

Philadelphia, 15th July, 1797.

True copy of the original letter,

GEO. TAYLOR, jun. Chief Clerk

in the Department of State.

Downing-Street, April 8th, 1797.

SIR,

In answer to your dispatches No. 2 and 3, I have to inform you that the proposal which has been made to you by Mr. ——— (as mentioned in those dispatches) for endeavouring to wrest the two Floridas from Spain has been taken into consideration by his Majesty's confidential servants, but it has not been thought expedient to accede to it, or to adopt any measures for carrying it into execution.

Without entering into a detail of the various considerations that have led to this decision, I think it merely necessary to observe, that, exclusively of the inadequacy of the means to the end proposed, the two objections which have occurred to yourself, the necessity of employing the Indians, and the impropriety of originating within the United States any hostile expedition against a nation with which they are at peace, are of sufficient magnitude to counterbalance the advantages which are likely to result from the execution of such a plan.

I have therefore to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you take an early opportunity of informing Mr. ——— that you have submitted his design to his Majesty's government, but that it has not been thought advisable to afford any assistance from this country towards carrying it into effect.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Robert Liston, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

True copy of the original letter, blanks being left for the name, which occurs twice.

GEO. TAYLOR, jun. Chief Clerk

in the Department of State.

The end of all this was, BLOUNT set off to *Tennessee*, and avoided the arrest of the messenger of the Senate.—The Senate ordered the Marshal of the United States to arrest him in *Tennessee*; but, the Sovereign people of that State would not suffer the writ to be executed! The Representatives at last commenced the prosecution of the culprit before the Senate; *but it was found, that the Constitution had given the Senate no power to try him*; and, which was the best of all, while BLOUNT stood accused of *high crimes and misdemeanors*, the people of *Tennessee* again chose him for their Governor!!!—*Vivat Respublica!*

AUGUST, 1798.

BONAPARTE'S SPEECH, IN PLAIN ENGLISH.

“ *Brother Cut-throats and Robbers, of every grade and denomination, Attend.*

“ It is about two years since I was appointed to command your lawless and ragged bands. I found you in the rich state of *Genoa*, where, notwithstanding your remorseless pillage of the people, you were reduced to the greatest misery, by the superior villainy and cunning of your commanders.—You were obliged to pawn even the watches you had stolen, to procure cloaths. I promised you better fortune, and I have kept my word; for I led you among the emasculated *Italians*, where you had an opportunity of filling your pockets once more with the plunder of churches and convents.—This was all well—but those who survive are yet indebted to their country—they owe her still greater services; and to these I am now about to lead you.—Frenchmen, you are a set of hardy and lucky scoundrels,

scoundrels, or you could never have lived through such great sufferings, or escaped so many bullets. If you are so fortunate to survive the approaching enterprise, I will pronounce you an *army of invincible demons*.

“ *Cannibals,*

“ If you behave valiantly in the present expedition, I do pledge my honour, and the faith of your country, than which you can have no greater security, that each man shall receive an absolute and indefeasible title to six feet by two, of *terra firma*, extending from about two feet below the surface, to the centre of the globe—provided the thunder of the ferocious Britons should not hurl you to the bottom of the ocean, and teach you a submarine passage to the other world, to which the sage Directory has long devoted you.—But that is a matter of no weight with Frenchmen—for, as Tom Paine and all the other philosophers of France have long since agreed, that you have no more souls than baboons, it is no consequence whether your carcasses fatten the land, or feed the sharks.

“ *Frenchmen,*

“ You are now going on the ocean to meet your most formidable enemies, a race of hardy and daring seamen, who differ as much from the semi-virs of Italy, as you do from the soldiers of liberty. Your countrymen, the French sailors, can tell what a terrible adversary they are; they have often felt the weight of their arms. So often have they been obliged to fly from these ferocious sons of Neptune, that unless you can communicate to your brethren a portion of your invincible spirit, it will be impossible to lead them to another conflict. But, if you are unable to raise their courage to a proper pitch

for the combat, take care at least that yourselves do not catch their fears."

Cries of *au diable la République* and *sacré les Anglois* followed this harangue; and it was with the greatest difficulty the troops were induced to embark. Had it not been for a report that was studiously spread through the army, that the expedition was intended against Egypt, it would never have gone on board.

For Porcupine's Gazette.—Since the judgments of God, which are abroad, are many and severe, we may of consequence conclude, that the iniquities of mankind are multiplied, and atrocious.—None of the nations can plead exemption from guilt; but guilt in one instance greatly exceeds. The character of the Antediluvian, or of the ancient Jew, has again revived. Christianity has not only been vilified, but also abolished by the constituted authorities; the institution of the Sabbath has been rejected, and on its ruin the decade, a festival of Pagan name, and Pagan origin, has been raised up. The ties of treaties, the solemnity of promises, and the rights of nations have been disregarded.—The lust of dominion, and the thirst of riches are insatiable. They are a people in arms against justice and humanity, piety and mercy. The old world in the days of Noah, the city of Jerusalem, when destroyed by the Roman army, were not burdened with a race more vile, nor abandoned. May I indulge the hope, it is because there are blessings in store for this country, that our connection with such a nation is weakened, and our attachments thereto rapidly on the decline.

It is not a particular notion which we detest; as men, we would rejoice in their welfare. It is their prophaneness and injustice, their disregard of God
and

and man, which we hold in detestation. We may take David as an example, and may use his very language—"Depart from us, ye bloody men. They speak against God wickedly; they take his name in vain. Do we not hate them, O Lord, who hate thee? Are we not grieved with them who rise up against thee? We hate them with a perfect hatred; we account them our enemies."—The visitations of God's providence are intended to excite an abhorrence at irreligious and immoral practices, and to persuade men to break off the connections, and to avoid the circumstances which ruin the character. But if they will disregard the Christian name, and the Christian Sabbath; if they will condemn the authority and the law of the Lord Jesus; if they will provoke the Holy One of Israel to anger, and turn away backward—it is of very little consequence how they be connected, or how they be circumstanced; they shall be humbled, they shall be afflicted, they shall be despised.

Your safety, O Americans, is not completed by breaking with an impious nation. Proceed the little further; keep holy the Sabbath which they profane; obey the Saviour whom they reject; practise the righteousness, which in practice they disregard; then, but not until then, can you expect that the tide will turn in your favour.

A FRIEND TO AMERICA.

French Cricket.—These little animals seem to threaten the United States with ravages equal to those of the *Hessian Fly*. At Frankfort (five miles from the city), at Germantown, and, I hear at Chester, they have eat up whole fields of clover, so as not to leave the least appearance of green. Many of the gardens are cleared in the same manner. Of the cabbages only, the stumps and hard stalks

are left; and of tender plants nothing at all.—This destructive vermin is a little brown Cricket, often called a grasshopper; but, in England, it is called the *French Cricket*, because it is everlastingly *hopping about* and *singing*. I never, till lately, heard it accounted mischievous; but, from the epithet *French* being prefixed to its name, I should suppose it must have long been known to possess this quality.

I shall be obliged to any of my country subscribers, who may think it worth their while to communicate what information they possess relative to this subject.

From a New-York Paper.—"The Irish insurgents, it seems made a grand push about the time they expected the Toulon fleet—But, thank heaven, government have frustrated their designs, and many, who were prepared to join the French, were ready to oppose them.

"It is truly American, to pray for every thing that will tend to frustrate the designs of France against any country."

It is so, and I am very happy to see, that what is "truly American," is also become *fashionable*; but I recollect when it was not so, and I cannot refrain from observing, that the rebellion in Ireland, in some measure, owes its existence to the everlasting clamour kept up in this country, concerning the *enslaved* state of that country, and to the *shelter* which the United States continually held forth to the Irish traitors and rebels.

From the New-York Daily Advertiser.—"Mr. Jaques, or James, yesterday received his sentence of perpetual confinement. May such be the fate of
of

of all who live, by SWINDLING. *In a Republican government*, every man ought to have some honest and useful occupation. Idleness produces vice, and vice crimes, and crimes disturb social order and happiness."

And why, "*in a Republican government?*" Why is honesty more particularly requisite in a *republican* government, than in any other? If we are to judge from *experience*, the people under such governments are not the very purest upon the face of the earth. The forgeries committed by the republican *Thomas*, of Philadelphia, surpass in number and magnitude, all those committed in all the kingdoms of Europe, during the present year. This is one blessed effect of the *mild* penal code of Pennsylvania. If this fellow had been certain of a *stretched neck*, in a few weeks after his detection, he never would have thus disgraced his family and his country, involved hundreds in misery and ruin, and given a mortal blow to all confidence between man and man.

The French papers, in announcing the departure of Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall from Paris, an event which was only made public in that metropolis three weeks after it happened, gives the following account of the causes of their dismissal:

"These Envoys appear to have mingled great *surliness* in their mission, and to have been little acquainted with the circumstances of the government, with which they were sent to treat. Their behaviour was marked by an affectation of dignity and of reserve which were very unseasonable. We are assured, that having lately been called on by the Directory to declare, whether they would accept the conditions which were offered them, two of them, Messrs. Pinckney and Marshall refused to assent to them; in consequence of which, they
were

were furnished with passports, and set off twenty days ago, the former of them for the South, and the latter for America by the way of Holland. Mr. Gerry having shewn himself more accommodating, remains behind."

Such is the history of the American Negotiation, with which the enlightened and well-governed citizens of France are furnished. If the state of the press at Paris was such as to permit the real truth to transpire, 'we should have no hesitation in anticipating the downfall of a government which has added to the grossest corruption the most barefaced falsehood. The *surliness* of which the American Envoys were guilty, was an unwillingness to accede, as a preliminary to negotiation, to the payment of a bribe of 50,000*l.* to the *virtuous Directors of the Great Nation, the Friends of the Oppressed, and the Enemies of Corruption.*—This money, it appears from the official documents, was to be paid as the price of the American Envoys residence in Paris; the pecuniary sacrifice which was to be made to France as the price of peace was much greater. No progress could, even after the payment of the first sum, be made in the negotiation, until the United States should have consented to give cash for the worthless paper securities which France had wrung from her allies the Dutch. Then, and not till then, were the Americans to be admitted to make those concessions which the disturbers of the peace of mankind had exacted from every nation that has been weak enough to comply with their first demands.

The spirit displayed in the message of the President of the United States to Congress, will be felt to be in unison with that which in this country has produced a general armament and a general contribution. Undaunted by the boasted diplomatic skill of France, the Executive government of
America

America has shewn that it is not yet fallen so low as to sacrifice its honour, its independence, and its wealth, to the dread of the domestic intrigues or of the power of the *Great Nation*. It has shewn that it considers open hostility as less dangerous than a treaty concluded with the most faithless, the most prostituted, and the most venal of mankind; purchased by tribute, and to be maintained only by patient submission to injury. It has shewn itself anxious for peace, but not indifferent for its independence.—It has shewn, in short, that it has profited by the example of those European powers who have crouched to the detested republic, and that it is wise while yet wisdom can avail it.

Those who are disposed to speculate on the profligacy of the French character, will almost consider it as matter of regret that the negotiations between this country and France did not proceed, so far as to let us into the secret of the pecuniary demand of the Directory on this country. Politically, we trust, that they would have had no effect; and that the spirit of the country is at present so roused, that nothing could add to the indignation which every Briton feels at the recollection of the insolence of our enemy's demands; but it would at least be curious to ascertain what the *soi-disant* avengers of human liberty would have considered as a sufficient penalty for that usurpation of the empire of the seas which our naval superiority has given us, and which our naval superiority will ever preserve.

French Villainy. Fifty Dollars Reward.—On Tuesday evening the 21st instant, the subscriber having attended the concert at Columbia Garden, with a small party of ladies and gentlemen, and having left the Garden a few minutes before nine to
take

take a turn on the Battery, for the benefit of the air, which we had scarcely entered before the lady, whose arm I held, screamed out that a gentleman that instant passing us, had thrown something upon her that burnt her arm and shoulder excessively, and gave the most excruciating pain. I at first supposed it was occasioned by an accidental touch of the elbow, which sometimes occasions a thrilling, painful sensation. Impressed with this idea, I turned to the man whom I found to be a Frenchman, and civilly asked him if he had struck the lady's arm I held intentionally; he replied in the negative; at the same time the lovely unhappy sufferer exclaimed with an agonizing mind, that her muslin was very wet. At this instant I recognized the powerful smell of Aqua Fortis, and immediately addressed the villain with language that any thing, except the most consummate poltroon, would have resented, and drew my cane with a view of chastising him on the spot, but was arrested in this attempt by some person behind me; the cowardly nefarious villain loudly vociferating that he would challenge me; and in full expectation of that issue, I gave him my address in the hearing of perhaps a hundred persons; but unfortunately could not obtain his.—Upon conveying the unhappy sufferer into the house of Mr. Corre, a very large scald and blister, almost the whole length of the arm and shoulder was discoverable: the gown and even under dress, entirely eaten through and ruined. And here it was discovered, that myself was probably the intended victim, as the back of my coat was almost destroyed with the effects of the Aqua Fortis, and changed from a black to a deep yellow colour.

The motive for this unmanly, insidious attack, is incomprehensible. The villainous perpetrator is
totally

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totally unknown to me; the presumption, therefore, is strong, that the American badge of Federalism, our national cockade, which I have the honour to wear, and which I have pledged myself to defend at the risk of my life, was the cause; and as 48 hours have elapsed since the before mentioned transaction, and hearing nothing from this gasconading villain, it may justly be presumed he will cautiously avoid an interview: therefore, whatever may have been the motives for this villainous conduct, a reward of fifty dollars will be paid for a discovery of the name, and conviction of the perpetrator of this outrage, by

R. C. SKINNER,
156, *William Street.*

August 24.

SEPTEMBER, 1798.

Williamsburgh, 24th August, 1798.—Sir, the following notification founded on truth, is submitted to you for publication in your extensively circulating Gazette, by your humble servant,

ANTI-JACOBIN.

“ To all whom it may concern,

“ AS it is at all times highly important that the community at large should be made acquainted with the political character and conduct of those, who are in high stations, invested with authority; and more particularly so, at this critical period, when we are, and have long been, labouring under the most aggravated foreign depredations brought on and encouraged by internal faction, and are further threatened with a desolating and unprovoked

ked invasion, against which the friendship and protection of Great Britain forms our best barrier and security.

“BE IT KNOWN, Therefore, That in the town of *Charlottesville*, at an entertainment, Thomas Jefferson, *Vice President* of the United States, lately drank the following toast:—“IRELAND—May she “soon burst her fetters, and take her rank among “the free *republics* of the earth.”—

“And it is submitted particularly to the consideration of the Senate, of whom said Thomas Jefferson is at present President, and also to the Representatives in Congress, and the citizens in general, how far such conduct comported with true patriotism, and the duties and dignity of the second officer of government: and whether such open avowal, in so elevated a station, of *a wish to see the dismemberment of an empire*, with which we are connected by the ties of interest, and treaties of amity and commerce, has not a direct tendency to weaken those bonds, to excite disgust, suspicion and complaint in that government, whose friendship, under existing circumstances, is of all others most necessary to be cultivated, because most essential to our safety.

“If any one will make the following supposition and answer it, he will in such answer have a true estimate of Jefferson’s conduct.

“Suppose when the Western counties had organized their insurrection, the Chancellor of England, at a political dinner, had publicly drunk:—“THE WESTERN COUNTIES—May they soon “burst their fetters, and take their rank as an independent republic;” and suppose England at that time threatened with the hostility of a nation, with whom she had little prospect of successfully coping, without the aid and co-operation of America

rica—In what light would you view the Chancellor's conduct?"

As an Englishman, I will answer.—I should look upon him as CAPABLE OF WRITING A LETTER TO MAZZEI; and that seems to me to be the exact point of democratic perfection.

Poor JEFFERSON! you may wish and drink, and drink and wish. You may swallow down all the blood that your beloved France has spilled for these six years past. You may wish in one hand and spew in the other, and see which will be full first; but you will never wish the Kingdom of Ireland into a *Republic*. The philosophical, corresponding traitors in that country, are detected; and, that they may undisturbed enjoy their profound speculations, they are, for the most part, *raised* to situations, *far above* the groveling sons of earth.—The base herd, whom they inveigled from their loyalty, were not, indeed, on the 9th of June last, quite all disposed of; but long 'ere this reaches the eye of their dear friend Jefferson, they will have been applied to the only purpose for which *traitors* are fit:—TO FATTEN THE EARTH OR GARNISH A GALLOWS.

O'Carey's Gazette.—Amongst the many deaths which have happened lately, there is one, which must give satisfaction to every honest man. I mean that of the vile O'CAREY'S VILE GAZETTE. The grim tyrant seemed to be crawling on it a long time ago, and the change of weather, last Thursday morning, about the hour of seven, carried it off this troublesome scene.

It expired like a demon, vomiting forth execrations against Great Britain and the Federal Government, and encouraging the United Irishmen to hope for ultimate success in their infernal undertaking.

king.—The following passage is worth copying; not as it shows the disposition of the vile editor; but as it will furnish the officers of government with valuable information.

“ *Extract of a letter from our correspondent at*
 “ *Wilmington, dated August 27.*—Yesterday I went
 “ to Newcastle, to obtain what information I could
 “ from the passengers of the *Abigail*; they had one
 “ paper which I could not procure, but sat down
 “ and took the following extract for your use.
 “ Their verbal accounts were, that when they left
 “ Belfast (June 6th), the province of Ulster was
 “ quiet, but was daily expected to be in a state of
 “ rebellion, that the night before they left that,
 “ *some of them assisted in conveying 250 tents to an*
 “ *eminence near Belfast, called the Cove Hill, for*
 “ *the use of the United Irishmen*, which were im-
 “ mediately to be occupied by them; that Samuel
 “ Neilson of Belfast, was not taken up (as report-
 “ ed reconnoitring Newgate) but that he had join-
 “ ed the rebels in the south.”

Thus, we see, that of the last cargo of Irish, landed in this country, there are some, at least, who have *fled from the hands of justice* in their own, and who are, most undoubtedly, ready to join their brethren, who were here before, in their attempts in favour of France. This is the greatest evil of the Irish Rebellion. The villains will be defeated at home. By this time, they are skulking in corners to shelter themselves from the bayonet and the rope; but, they will steal off thither. The avaricious captains of vessels will admit them on board, and, while the *Alien Law* remains a dead letter, as it hitherto has done, they will find no difficulty in getting on shore. America will thus become peopled with rebels, who have once raised the standard of bloody France, and who will be ready to do it again, the moment an opportunity shall serve.

In

In some sort, this will be no more than a just punishment on the States. For twenty years past, a very great majority of the public papers here have been labouring, as often as occasion offered, to render the people of the whole British Empire discontented with their government, and particularly those of Ireland. Every art has been made use of, by individuals and by societies, to invite the malecontents to cross the ocean. I am not at all hazarding an assertion, when I say, that the violent proceedings in Ireland, which have at length called forth the vengeance of government, were not so much owing to the example or the encouragement of France, as to the sure prospect of impunity, and almost of *reward*, by flight to these shores.—The country, where PRIESTLEY was received with addressess, where HAMILTON ROWAN was announced amidst the shouts of a town meeting, at which a CHIEF JUSTICE presided; where CALLENDER made a *merit* of having escaped from the gallows in Scotland, and of being *honoured* on his arrival with the *friendship* of the then *Secretary of State*; the country, I say, that gave this shameful approbation of British and Irish criminals, has little reason to complain of their insolence, their perfidy, or their violence, when directed against itself.

Webster again!!—I have long suspected, and even said, that pedagogue WEBSTER, of New-Haven (*formerly* of New-York), was a *tool of the French despots*. He is now publishing a pretended correspondence, which puts the *fact* beyond controversy.

This correspondence he pretends he received from a very well informed *friend*, and he tells his readers, they may place a perfect reliance on what he says. Having thus given it all the credibility in

his power, by way of preface, he proceeds to copy. His correspondent is represented as living in Prussia, of whose monarch he appears to be a subject, and a very loyal one too, for he has been able to discover what no one else ever did, and that is, *a vast deal of mildness, generosity, and uprightness in the King of Prussia*, whom he praises on various accounts, but particularly for his having assisted to *frustrate the projects of England*, and for his *friendship towards France*.

The Emperor of Russia, for having, I suppose, adopted a line of conduct exactly the opposite, is styled "*the most absolute and tyrannical despot.*" Webster must set his readers down as fools, or he never would have ventured to publish this absurd trash for authentic European information.

But, the most valuable part of the correspondence, and that which most satisfactorily proves the nefarious views of Webster, is, the remarks on the revolutionizing of Switzerland, which are too curious to be omitted here.

"The revolution of Switzerland is now completed. As unjust and cruel as it was from the French, it is *an event which was to be wished for long ago*. The interior government of that country was full of abuse and oppression. For example, in the best governed canton, Zurich, a man living in the country, was forbidden to educate his son for a trade, for commerce, or for science—Still more cruel and profligate was the government of Vellein, where murder and assassination was common, and protected and expiated by the clergy for money. *We hope that a more fixed, uniform, and powerful government will promote their happiness*, when the present mode of nefarious intrusion upon them, shall be forgotten. The Cantons of Uri, Underwalden, Zug, and Glarus, excited by the Roman clergy

"and

“ and monks, made the last and a very gallant resistance, at several places, and much blood has been shed; but the Swiss were at least overpowered, and have accepted the new constitution. The Swiss were led by Colonel Sleding and Paravicini—the latter was slightly wounded. The capitulation was honourable for the vanquished—who pay no contributions to the French, and the Catholic religion remains undisturbed. The country, however, will be exhausted by the rapacity of the French, especially as the *English government, by its cruel resolution*, not to allow any debts to be paid to the Helvetians, *has forced the French to order all English commodities to be delivered to them*, which deprives the Swiss of a lucrative commerce.”

This paragraph, whether really sent from Europe by some scoundrel *Illuminatus*, or fabricated here by the YOUNG 'SQUIRE himself, is intended as neither more nor less than a justification of the most unprovoked and abominable act of aggression, that ever entered into the hearts of a gang of unprincipled and blood-thirsty tyrants to execute. The few words of censure, on the conduct of France, which are thrown in here and there, are intended merely to render the deception of the public more complete, just as the adulteress shams a dislike to her gallant, in order to blind her cornuto, whose honourable part is now acted by Webster's poor readers.

“ The revolution of Switzerland is an event, which was to be wished for long ago.”—What could BACHE say more? “ The interior government was full of abuses and oppression.—A man could not educate his son as he liked.—Murder was *protected*, and *expiated by the clergy for money*.”—Base wretch! And this what you tell your readers, they may *rely on as truth!* The French

are most atrocious villains; but the most vile of them all is not a millionth part so vile as the prostituted writer and publisher of this paragraph.

Every republican writer of modern date; every philosophical miscreant, who has been labouring in the vineyard of revolutions; all the decrees of monarchy from ROUSSEAU, down to the long Livingston of New-York, have represented Switzerland as the standard of political perfection, as the land where pure unadulterated liberty was to be found. But, now, behold, when it is overrun, pillaged, and revolutionized by the French; *now*, these same eulogists have discovered, that the internal government "*was full of abuses*;" yea, that it even "*protected murder and assassination!*" Wonderful change!—Hark ye, Noah! don't you think now, that the same rascal, who discovered these *abuses* in the internal government of the Swiss Cantons, would have ingenuity enough to find out *abuses* in the internal government of these United States, if the French should happen to revolutionize them?—I dare say, *you* could do it, upon a pinch; if you could not, you are not the man I take you for. But, if you were to do it, I am sure you would find no *royalist* on the other side of the water, base and wicked enough to publish your pretended discovery to the world as a truth: no, it must be a *republican* to *believe a fallen republic*.

Having represented the old government as full of abuses, he next tells his readers, that he hopes the new form (that is, the French form) of government will "*promote their happiness*."—This is the very language, that MERLIN or BARRAS would make use of. They rob, they desolate, they ravish, and they murder; but they never fail to say, that it is to "*promote the happiness*" of their victims. This is the way, in which they are, and have long been, *promoting the happiness of America*; and, did America contain none but Noah Webster, I should pray

pray God, that they might render that *happiness* complete. Nothing would give me so much pleasure, as to see a platoon of sans-culottes, take up their quarters in his printing-office. The title of *Squire*, I can assure him, would not save his yellow carcass from their fraternal claws.

My readers have often enough seen, that Great-Britain is the eternal butt of Webster's malice; accordingly, he could not let this fabricated correspondence pass off, without dragging her in. The infamous conduct of the French, in seizing all the English merchandize from the poor Swiss, he justifies as *an act of necessity*; he says, they were *forced to do it*; but, what think you? By "the *cruel* resolution of the British Government, not to allow " any debts to be paid to the *Helvetians*!" So that, according to this base wretch, the French were justified in robbing the people of their goods, because the English government would not let them rob them of their money.

The fact is (and with this remark I shall conclude), that no one act of the infernal despots of Paris, has shocked the people of America more, or has been a more awful warning to them, than the revolutionizing of the Federative Republic of Switzerland; and, therefore, to decry the former government of that country, to represent it as being full of abuses, aristocratic, and priest-ridden, is what the partisans of France are now very earnestly engaged in, as being the surest way to allay the indignation which its destruction has excited. This I look upon to be the object of the publisher, and I am sure it was that of the writer, if, indeed, they are not one and the same person.

Republican Candour.—"Our recent advices from
 " Europe, afford us a good basis to *hope* that a
 o 3 " *new*

“ *new combination of the potency of the regular government is formed or forming.* Time was, and that not long since, when we thought a coalition against France, was an *impious coalition of liberticides*; but, our opinion is *perfectly changed*. A coalition against France, is a league in our *favour*.”

This is taken from the *Portland Gazette*; and it is, as far as I can recollect, the first instance of political candour, that I ever met with in a thorough-paced republican newsmonger. Men of this stamp are generally *upon the shift*. They will, with the utmost unconcern, range through all the mazes of inconsistency, and have ever a stock of excuses at command, on whatever spot you detect them. The Editor of the BOSTON CENTINEL, for instance, like several others of the same cast, who formerly invoked the vengeance of Heaven on “the tyrant George,” for his hostility against the republic of France, now tell you, that they heartily wish him success against that very republic France; *not* because *they have changed their principles*, or are actuated by any *selfish motive*; but, because the Sister Republic has changed her principles and motives, she being formerly fighting for liberty, and the “tyrant George” against it; whereas, she is *now* fighting against this precious commodity of the republican shop, and “the tyrant George” for it.

To such miserable quibbles as these, my *Portland* man seems to have recourse. He tells you, flat and plain, that he hopes a new combination of the potency of the regular governments of Europe, is formed against France; he tells you (which is a shameful truth), that not long since he called a similar combination, *an impious coalition of liberticides*; and, by his conclusion, he gives you to understand, that

that he would still call it so, *were it not in favour of America*, and leaves you to conclude, that he actually will do it, *as soon as the danger of America is over!*

This is what I call an honest fellow, and I read his noble sentiments as an honour to his tribe.

From the Farmer's Weekly Museum.—"Some of the papers, denominated federal, have of late given themselves a good deal of trouble to discuss the *sort* of connection, we ought to form with Great Britain. Would the public interest suffer if these Solomons in counsel should leave the matter for the present, where the constitution has left it: to the President, with the advice of the Senate?"

I never saw a newspaper for the Editor of which I had a higher respect than for the Editor of the *Farmer's Museum*; nor can I take any portion of this gentle reproof, to *myself*, because I never attempted to discuss the "*sort* of connection, we ought to form with Great-Britain;" but, I cannot allow that the reproof is either *just* in its general principles, or *pertinent* as applied to the present occasion.

The newsmongers, however absurd the opinions of some may be, and however perverse the prejudices of others, have certainly a right to lay their own, or their correspondents' sentiments before the public, on this, as well as every other public measure; and, to insinuate, that they *ought not to do it*, though the *right* is acknowledged, is to reduce the liberty of the press to a *nominal*, a sort of *French assignat* value.

When the Editor advises them to "*leave the matter where the constitution has left it*," I comprehend the stroke of satire on the self-important politicians

politicians very well; but, he should recollect, that *he himself has recommended many public measures*, all of which the constitution has placed very far out of his reach.—The constitution has left no public measure to the publishers of newspapers; and, therefore, if they are (to use the Farmer's words), "to leave the matter, where the constitution has left it," they ought never publish a single sentence respecting any public measure whatever. This doctrine may suit a miscellany, which has the pen of a Lay-Preacher to enrich its columns, and which numbers amongst its subscribers such a multitude of ladies and learned men; but a paper like the *Porcupine*, which goes forth promiscuously to the mass of mankind, can never be expected to subscribe to it.

If a newspaper discussion of a public measure be proper in any case, the *sort of connection* America is to form with Great-Britain, is so, *at this very time*; unless the Farmer means to tell us, that no discussion of a public measure should take place, *till it be irretrievably adopted*, an absurdity, which, I am sure, he has too much sense to advance.

Webster's Correspondence.—In my last, I took some notice of a pretended correspondence, which this prostitute wretch was publishing. I should not have seen the remainder of it, were it not for the pliant disposition of the *Claypooles*, who take special care to retail out every word of it to the few readers that their insipid sheet has made shift to retain.

Of the former part of this correspondence, I noticed the *eulogium on the King of Prussia*, the *abuse of the Emperor Paul*, and the *justification of the revolutionizing of the Swiss Cantons*. The part, which is now before me, begins with a most outrageous attack on the court of Vienna. Webster's pretended

pretended *friend*, whose words he gives out as the result of wisdom, and the essence of truth, asserts, that the Imperial Minister, THUGUT, is "in the pay of England." He further says, that "The Emperor is *weak*, and a *bigot*; the Empress still *more a bigot*, but *intriguing*, and is *governed by the clergy*." This abuse is to be attributed to the hostile disposition, at present shown towards *the French*, by the Imperial Court. One remark is applicable to the whole correspondence, which is this; all those who are ranked amongst *the enemies of France*, are sure to be the subject of the obloquy, and reproach of this rascally writer; and, all those who are ranked amongst *her friends*, whether despots, sham republics, or bands of rebels, are as sure to be the subject of his applause. Take the following paragraph respecting *Ireland*.

"Our views of England are quite different, perhaps from what you have in America. Though we detest the French proceedings, we abhor the English in many instances, not less. Not that I blame their measures to hinder conspiracies in *England*; but, their briberies, their intrigues, their cruelties against the *Irish*, are objects of abhorrence."

This rascal does not blame the English for hindering conspiracies in *England*, where there are *none*; but for them to do the same in *Ireland*, where all is conspiracy, is an object of his abhorrence! And what does the wretch mean by "*briberies* and *intrigues*, and *cruelties* against the *Irish*?" What does the King want, but for the *Irish* to remain loyal and peaceable subjects? What need has he to employ *bribery* and *intrigue* against them? And as to CRUELITIES, this is *the name that rebels ever give to measures of coercion, which they themselves have compelled their Sovereign to adopt*, though he at last adopts them with a bleeding heart. BACHE
and

and CALLENDER talked about the *cruelties* committed by the *Federal army*, on their "*Western Brethren*," and I am at any time ready to prove, that *as great severity* was exercised towards them, *in proportion to the magnitude of their offence*, as ever the King of Great-Britain exercised towards his rebel subjects in Ireland. Let the malicious Noah Webster, therefore, hold his tongue on this subject, or let him at once join CALLENDER and BACHE, in commiserating the case of the Western Rebels.

If the reader peruses carefully the last quoted paragraph, and recollects Webster's sentiments, respecting the malecontents in Ireland, he will, I think, at once conclude, that this hypocrite is himself the real author of the letter, which he pretends to have received from Europe. But, if he should remain unconvinced of this, I am sure he will no longer remain so, after reading the following, with which the 'SQUIRE has thought proper to wind up his impudent fabrication.

"How will America extricate herself? I hope she will *not be involved in the war*—but *repel all hostile aggressions*, and the shameful intrigues of the French ministers with a noble courage. *But we wish she may not throw herself into the arms of England*, and as far as possible, follow the truly wise advice of Washington, not to meddle in the political affairs, and to avoid much political intercourse with Europe—You are too good a people to be always entangled in those politics, but you are exposed to be ensnared by the European perseverance and experience in diplomatic treacheries. *I wish you had even no ministers at foreign courts, nor foreign ministers with you.*"

No man upon earth but Webster is fool enough to put such paradoxical nonsense as this upon paper. He hopes America "*will repel all hostile aggressions*

aggressions with a noble courage," and yet he hopes she "*will not be involved in the war!*" This is just Webster's silly unmeaning cant. But, observe, how exactly his correspondent jumps with him in judgment, about America's "*throwing herself into the arms of England,*" words which the 'SQUIRE has repeated, till he has wearied the very echo. The monstrous idea, with which the animal concludes, is absolutely copied from a piece, to which I replied about six weeks ago, in which he had the frantic folly to add, that, if he could have his will, *he would make it death for any man to propose a connection, of any kind, with any foreign nation whatever.*

But, it is of little consequence, whether he be the author of this detestable tissue of abominations or not; we know he is the publisher of them, and that renders him chargeable with all the various mischief they were intended to produce, and stamps him, if not the *hireling*, the *volunteer tool* of the enemies of America. The wretch is abandoned by the Federal party, and he is preparing the way for shelter, under the wings of its foes, with whom he well knows nothing can be so strong a recommendation, as having zealously decried Great Britain and all connection with her. Fool as he is, he cannot but have observed, that, to prevent every connection of this kind, is what the despots of Paris have nearest their hearts; if they succeed in this, they have nothing else to fear; first or last, they will render these States dependant on themselves, or they will divide and ruin them.

If I am told that Webster is a *native American*, and am asked *what motive* he can act from? I reply, by observing, that BACHE, GREENLEAF, and many scores that I could enumerate, are also *native Americans*, and I then ask, in my turn, what motives can they act from? But, Webster has a stimulus,

lus, which none of the others have. He is a *projector*, a fanatical inventor of *new systems*, all of which, one after another, have received their death-stroke from the literary men of Great Britain, by whose neglect and ridicule, his inordinate vanity has been so often and so severely wounded, that he has contracted a spirit of revenge against the whole nation; and, in order to gratify this, though in the slightest degree, I am confident he would cheerfully assist in reducing his country to colonies of France.—To some persons, this may seem incredible; but, such persons know nothing of the infernal, unquenchable malice of a disappointed pedant.

Truly Noble.—An English paper says: “the Earl of Exeter has expunged from his library, and burnt the Works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Abbé Raynal, Volney, and the French Encyclopedia.”

I wish every body would imitate this worthy nobleman. These are amongst the books, which have produced the mischief, which now threatens to overwhelm the world. It would be a happy thing, if the accursed art of printing could be totally destroyed, and obliterated from the human mind; but, as this cannot be done, every act, whether of individuals, or societies, that has a tendency to counteract its dreadful effects, merits the applause of all good men. It is much to be feared, however, that the Earl of Exeter will find but few persons, who have resolution enough to follow his laudable example. In America, those execrable works are very common. How alarming must it be, to all true friends of religion and morality, to see *Godwin's Political Justice*, and *Volney's Ruin*, in the

the hands of even the country youth ! In a country where this is frequent, no public happiness can be of long duration ; no government, *founded on principles of freedom*, can long exist. Universal licentiousness must ensue ; anarchy must follow it, and despotism must close the horrid career. This progress is inevitable. It is a wise and just sentence, the fulfilment of which every nation on earth has, at some time or other experienced,—*that the licentious, the immoral, and the irreligious never shall be FREE.*

From the Boston Commercial Gazette.—“Mr. RUSSEL, I observe that the Chronicle abuses the Hon. Mr. Goodhue, one of the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, for circulating *General Washington's Letter* to the President, and *Porcupine's Gazette*. If it be true that the honourable gentleman did leave some of these on the road, he certainly is entitled to public thanks for the action ; but its being asserted in the Chronicle affords a strong presumption that it is not the case. However, this may be, it is certain that those publications cannot be too generally read ; and it is hoped that every friend to his country will upon every possible occasion, distribute them, where they cannot be otherwise obtained.

“ *General Washington's Letter* expresses an high approbation of President Adams, and gives his opinion of the infamous conduct of the Directory towards the United States. For this reason, the Jacobins are anxious to suppress it, they know the effect which Mr. Adams's answers to the different addresses, have had on the public mind, and they dread the concurrence of General Washington's testimony with his, against the intriguing encroachments,

ments, and barbarous oppressions of the French government. But the people will no longer be deceived, they have heard of Washington's letter, and they will read it, they wish to know what their old friend says ; they can confide in the advice of Adams and Washington, they are convinced that these great and good men are real patriots, and that they have *no attachments but to their own native country*.

“ With regard to *Porcupine's Gazette*, it has been of great service; the editor nobly and manfully came forward, at a time when our prejudices in favour of France was beyond all bounds, and pointed out the danger that was to be apprehended, from the views of the government of that nation. He thereby exposed his property to destruction, and himself and family to assassination and massacre; with all these he was threatened ; the Jacobins knew he told the truth, and therefore wanted to stop his mouth, or put him out of the way ; but he persevered, and still remains a scourge to them, and the supporter of social order, political liberty, good government, and undefiled religion. If these things do not entitle him to public patronage, it is hard to say what would.”

I do not publish the above by way of *puff*, for I stand in need of none ; but to show such bitter dogs as NOAH WEBSTER, that men, whose love to America nobody can doubt, see my efforts and my motives in a light quite different to them.

Democratic Erudition.—At *Lexington* (Kentucky) a mob assembled on the 24th of July, with a fellow of the name of FISHBACK at their head ; they got pen, ink and paper, and to work they went, drawing up *resolves* to the number of ten, amongst which is the following one, which for sentiment as well

well as orthography, is unequalled even in the annals of American democracy.

“ Resolvd that thar es sufishunt resen too beeleeve
 “ and wee doe beeleeve that our leebeerte es in dain-
 “ gur and wee plege ouer selves too echeother and
 “ too ouer cuntery that wee will defende um agenst
 “ awl unconsetushonal ataks that iney bee made
 “ uppon um.”

Grand discovery! Bold patriots! Elegant writers!—If these sagacious and learned citizens had assembled in any place, where there had been a single magistrate of spirit and good sense, he would have dispersed them by his constables, and thereby spared his country the disgrace, which their barbarous resolves are calculated to reflect on it. If this Kentucky newspaper were to fall into the hands of a person totally unacquainted with the rest of America, he would take us all for a sort of savages; and, in fact, the Kentuckians do appear to be just civilized enough to be the tools of faction, and that's all. They are something like the *wild Irish*, who have every thing of the savage about them, but his *sobriety* and *sincerity*. If the more civilized part of the Kentuckians do not stomach this comparison, let them enable us to make one more in their favour by working a reform in the manners of their hordes.

Another Specimen.—The following curious letter was sent to the Editor of the FRANKLIN REPOSITORY, a very valuable paper published at Chambersburgh.

“ *August 23^{tr}. 1798.*—Sir, I wish you to withhold your papers—until fether orderrs plas to send mee the amount of your acount and Il indever to send it to you—Sir as I undersand you wish to know the reasons of thos who with draw their subscrip-
 tion

tion from your peapers.—Mine is as—folows I have observed that you haf repetedly Cast aspersians in an indiscrimint Manner agenst a class of Citisens Coled Democrats and also in your peaper of the fifteenth insent a peece against Richard Bard Esqr. wharin you Charge him with lying misrepresentations and other things whitch I Canot thing hee is Gilty of I Cannot—but think you have been rong informed consarning Mr. Bard disewearing the peapel Who withdreW ther Subscription from you I have of late heard him repetedly declare that he never—had ane ward of conversation With even ane of those people in regard of ther Withdrawing ther Subscriptions till after it was done. and he also Says that even. sence those people has Withdrew ther Subscriptions has never spokeen one word With one of them in regard of ther doing so excepting one of them that wos at his house Shotly after hee ded it. and informed him of it. and I expect that you may not find that thos people who Withdrew ther subscription from the peapers leeft at Mr Bard Will lestesy to the truth of what hee say I am S y &

“ J HAMILTON ”

“ Mr. Robert Harper ”

Presbyterian Clergy.—Though the “ PASTORAL LETTER ” of the General Assembly was promulgated so long ago as the 17th of May last, I never happened to see it till now. When I first cast my eyes on the title of it, in the Salem Gazette, I expected to find under that title something like a reprobation of the conduct of France, and more especially did I expect this, when I found the letter to commence on the subject of “ *the extraordinary situation of the world at the present moment.* ”
I expected

I expected to see that situation traced back to its true cause; and the flagitious principles, which have produced the awful crisis in which we are placed, I expected to see exposed in all their horrid deformity.

But, what was my disappointment, when instead of a wholesome and striking lesson, drawn from this inexhaustible source, I found the "PASTORAL LETTER," nothing more than a tissue of commonplace remarks and exclamations *on the follies and sins of the times*; and when, instead of a pious and energetic call on the people, *to gird on the sword of the Lord and of Gideon*, in the holy cause of resistance to French plunder, sacrilege, and murder, I found that wicked nation *not even hinted at*, except amongst the "formidable innovations and convulsions in *Europe*!"

To what cause ought we to ascribe this *guarded silence* respecting the hellish foe, who now threatens us with universal devastation? *Presbyterians* are not remarkable for a passive submission to injuries and insults, any more than they are for abstaining from a mixture of religion and politics. I shall leave the reader to discover the cause of their scrupulous forbearance on the present occasion, candidly confessing, that it is totally out of the reach of *my* capacity.

The Century.—The *Literati* of Great Britain are engaged in a dispute respecting the solution of the following problem:—*When does the 18th Century end, with the year 1799, or with the year 1800?*—The contest is maintained with great warmth and obstinacy on both sides; numbers of the illiterate are hourly ranging themselves under the banners of one or the other, and when the last advices came away it was apprehended that the result would

be very serious.—As a Briton, whose attachment to his country is well known, the public must suppose, that this alarming news has created a good deal of uneasiness in my mind, and they will, I trust, readily excuse the appeal I am about to make to their generosity.—The Congress having declared the people of America to be *the most enlightened people in the world*, any decision of theirs must, of course, put an end to the dispute at once; I, therefore, solicit my readers to furnish me with their opinion on the subject, that I may transmit it to England, without loss of time, and thereby avert the impending conflict, and prevent the unnecessary effusion of vast quantities of ink.

Several Antifederal publications, containing the most false and calumnious assertions, having lately appeared in the "*Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser*," I hereby request the Editor to send me no more of his papers, and I shall be very careful not to trouble him with any of mine. He may excuse his conduct by the specious pretext of *impartiality*, and this may do with the silly and factious WILMINGTONIANS; but for my part, I ascribe it either to *weakness* or *wickedness*, and as the *fool* is full as dangerous as the *rogue*, I wish to have a correspondence with neither.

SAMUEL SMITH OF BALTIMORE (*commonly called the HERO OF MUD FORT*) *completely detected and exposed.*

CHARGE I. *Extract of a Letter from Dr. Thomas, dated Frederick, August 5, 1798.*—"Mr. Baer says he heard General Smith say, (when talking of the *douceur* to Talleyrand and the Directory)

"If

“ *If he had been there he WOULD HAVE GIVEN*
“ *DOUBLE THE SUM.*”!!!!

Frederick, August 5th, 1798.—“ I certify, that the extracts of a letter from Colonel Howard, of the 10th ult. which appeared in the public papers, were published without the direction or knowledge of the author.

“ I further declare, that the design in publishing the extracts or any part of them, was not from personal enmity to General Smith or any other person, nor from a desire of serving the political interest of any particular person, but solely with a view of serving the government of my country.

“ P. THOMAS.”

CHARGE II.—*That, while the HERO OF MUD FORT was in Congress, his vessels and cargoes, were furnished with PROTECTIONS by THE FRENCH AGENTS HERE, in consequence of which, his property was secured from seizure, WHILE THAT OF HIS CONSTITUENTS WAS CONTINUALLY EXPOSED.*

Proof.—“ I hereby certify, that in the month of February 1797, I sailed as master of the brig Enterprize, on a voyage from Baltimore—was cleared out for Jeremie, *an English port* in the island of Hispaniola, but my *real destination* was the *French port* of Cape François in the said island—laden with flour, beef, oil, pork, and soap—and as appears by the bill of lading, for account of Messrs. Samuel and John Smith, Samuel Smith and Buchanan, and John Hollins;—and that before my sailing, I was furnished by Mr. John Hollins, in the presence of Captain Joshua Barney, with a *French passport or protection.*—That Captain Barney observed at the time, that if I was boarded on my passage to Cape François, by any armed vessels of the French republic,

republic, that I had nothing to do, but shew the protection, and they would not only see me safe into port, but render me all the assistance in their power. I do not recollect the form of the protection, but remember that it was signed by PASCAL, *secretary to the French commission at Cape François*—that after my return from Cape François, the said *passport* or *protection* was called for by Mr. Hollins, and by me returned to him.

“DENNIS PEASE.”

“*Baltimore, August 31, 1798.*”

“John C. Craft came before the subscriber, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that he was at the counting-house of Mr. George Sears when Captain Pease signed the certificate of his having sailed under a French passport—that after the certificate was signed the following conversation took place :

“Captain Pease said, Mr. Sears, I hope you don’t intend to publish that certificate. Mr. Sears answered, I shall not publish it ; but it is not intended to put away in my desk ; it will go out of my hands, and I cannot say what use will be made of it ; you need not be under any apprehensions concerning it, for if it is the truth it may be published to the world.—Captain Pease answered, it is as true as the gospel.

“Sworn on the 6th September, 1796,

“Before THOROWGOOD SMITH.”

CHARGE III.—*That THE HERO OF MUD FORT declared that, if the French were to invade or land in the country as enemies, he would not oppose them, BUT WOULD RECEIVE THEM AS FRIENDS.*

Proofs.

Proofs.—"Having been called upon to relate some observations of General Smith, before a circle of gentlemen on the exchange, where I was present, about three years since, I do, therefore, think it incumbent on me, and a justice I owe to my fellow citizens, to declare, that General Smith did say, speaking of the British treaty, and the probability of its being the cause of a war between the United States and France, "*If the French were in consequence to invade or land in this country as enemies, he would not oppose, but receive them as friends.*" This I declare upon my honour to the best of recollection, if not the very words, to be in substance what he then said.

"JOHN O'DONNEL."

"September 7, 1798."

"I have had similar conversation to the above with General Smith, to which I replied, that in case of such an event as he alluded to, I hoped the governor of his state, or some other commanding officer, would come forward, as I would not be under his command.

"JAMES BARRY."

"September 7, 1798."

N. B. Smith was, and still is *commander of the militia* in his state.

Thus the detestable conduct and the more detestable motives of this tool of France have, at last, been exposed to the world.—The *second charge* is that which ought to attract the attention of every one in a more particular manner, as it completely explains the whole of SMITH'S conduct, from the year 1793 to the last session of Congress. People were surprised that he, who was a merchant of great

trade, should speak so *unfeelingly* on the subject of *French spoliations*. Whenever these were brought before the house, he treated them as a trifle, that was not worth disputing about, and still had the impudence to insist, that the spoliations of Great Britain, were more injurious to the country, though every one who heard him, knew that they were not a tenth part so great in amount. I have not the debate before me, but I very well recollect, that, during the extra session, he joined little Swanwick in the insolent assertion, that *America had suffered more from British, than from French spoliations!*—This language from a merchant deeply interested in the security of commerce, was a mystery which puzzled every one, but which his FRENCH PROTECTIONS have most satisfactorily explained to the meanest capacity. This discovery is a key to the riddle, and the poor BALTIMORIANS now stand gaping at each other, like a family of chuckle-headed children, and wondering how they never came to think of it before!

By means of the FRENCH PROTECTIONS, Smith's property was always perfectly safe, while that of his constituents, and of other merchants in the country, were exposed to seizure and condemnation; it was, therefore, his interest, *that the French spoliations should continue as long as possible*, and agreeably to this interest we find he voted on every occasion!!!—Republican Britons, you who are continually howling for *a reform in Parliament*, cease your clamours for a single moment and cast your eyes on this selfish, this degraded, this double dealing representative of one of the first cities in America, and recollect, that it was *the right of general suffrage*, which you are now contending for, that enabled this man to betray the interest and honour of his country. I am far from supposing that this example will induce you to desist: on the contrary,

trary, I hope it will tend to encourage you to proceed, and pursue your project with such earnestness, that nothing but the bayonet will be found capable of stopping your career.

It was the fashion some years ago, and, with WEBSTER and some others, it is so still, to decry the mode of election in Great-Britain and Ireland: but, let these half-fool, half-rogue rascals produce me, if they can, from amongst the members of all the British Parliaments, which have been called for a hundred years past, a list to equal the following :

Lyon,	Giles,
Livingston,	Rutherford,
Mason,	Gallatin,
2 Blounts,	and
Nicholas,	Baltimore Smith.
M'Clenachan,	

I could mention some more, who do great honour to the system of *universal suffrage*; but these names, together with the pretty little anecdotes relative to each, which will at once present themselves to the recollection of the reader, will, I trust, be looked upon as sufficient for the present.

Mason the Senator, and Callender the Runaway.
—My last paper contained an account of a democratic member of the House of Representatives: In this, I am about to give some anecdotes respecting a SENATOR.

MASON the SENATOR is the same man, who, contrary to his duty and his *oath*, made a premature disclosure of the contents of the British Treaty, with the evident intention of exciting a clamour against it, in order to prevent its final ratification. He has constantly, since that time, as well as before, been of the *French faction*, and has uniformly

opposed every measure calculated to protect the country against the infamous designs of the savage despots of Paris.

CALLENDER, on his arrival in America, boasted that he had *escaped the gallows* in Scotland, and that his comrades were then in Newgate awaiting their final doom. The wretch, with the encouragement of JEFFERSON and others, throve for a little while ; but his drunkenness, his rascality in every way, led him from den to den, and from misery to misery, till he, at last, took shelter under the disgraceful roof of the abandoned hireling editor of the AURORA: while in his employment, he buried a poor, abused, broken-hearted wife, who left behind her a family of ragged, half-starved children, to be sent to the poor house.

“ *Birds of a feather flock together,*” and Callender and MASON contracted such a friendship for each other, that they were inseparable while the Senator was in the city. The Senator went home, but still hankering after his companion, he sent an invitation for him to come and pass the summer season at his house in Virginia. He forgot, however, to send a horse, or any thing else, for the poor rascal to ride upon ; he was, therefore, like a true vagabond, obliged to *tramp it*.

The wretch has a most thief like look ; he is ragged, dirty, has a downcast with his eyes, leans his head towards one side, as if his neck had a stretch, and goes along working his shoulders up and down with evident signs of anger against the fleas and lice.

Notwithstanding his exterior, his munificent friend received him with all the affection of a brother ; but being soon after his arrival, found drunk in the neighbouring distillery, and the people judging him from his villainous look, suspected him to be a felon, who had made his escape from the
wheel-

wheelbarrow, on the Baltimore roads, and actually took him up on that suspicion, and conducted him before a magistrate, where the *scape-gallows* declared his name, said he was a printer at Philadelphia (which was a lie), that he came into Virginia in consequence of *an invitation from Stevens Thomson Mason*, one of the Virginia Senators in Congress, and that he then resided at the Senator's house, where *his papers* were lodged.

In consequence of this declaration, CALLENDER was allowed till five o'clock to produce his testimonials; and, at that hour, MASON appeared in his behalf, produced *a certificate of his naturalization*, and said he was a man of *a good character !!!*

An account of this affair was published in the *Columbian Mirror*, an excellent paper published at Alexandria; but this MASON did not like: shame, at last, came to his aid, but it came too late; for it urged him to deny the account, and thereby only made it more generally known. He disclaimed his poor friend, positively insisted that he never appeared in his behalf; and, by this indiscreet step, gave his neighbours an opportunity of proclaiming him for an atrocious LIAR, in addition to his other qualifications, as will be seen by the following pieces from the Alexandria paper.

‘ Mr. GIRD,

‘ As some altercation has taken place in the
 ‘ Mirror last week between General Mason and
 ‘ myself, as the author of a piece signed A. and as
 ‘ I wish the whole to be brought under a single
 ‘ view, I must request you to republish that piece,
 ‘ together with General Mason's reply; and the
 ‘ enclosed certificates from gentlemen whose cha-
 ‘ racter will not suffer by a comparison with his.
 ‘ From which it appears that my communication
 ‘ was strictly true, that Mr. Mason's assertions were
 ‘ *utterly*

‘ *utterly false* ; and the public will decide who best
 ‘ merits the epithet of ‘ *infamous scoundrel* !’ While
 ‘ General Mason ceases to praise, my character will
 ‘ not suffer ; nor will my feelings be hurt by any
 ‘ expressions which come from him. If the Bri-
 ‘ gadier can’t brook the indignity of being pub-
 ‘ licly proved a *liar*, he shall receive full satisfac-
 ‘ tion on application to

‘ THOMAS LEWIS.

‘ *Leesburg, August 15th, 1798.*’

No. I.—‘ We, the subscribers, magistrates for
 ‘ the county of Loudoun, being called on by one
 ‘ of the constables for the said county, to examine
 ‘ a person by him apprehended, on suspicion of
 ‘ having eloped from the *wheelbarrow*, on the
 ‘ Baltimore roads, who, on his examination, denied
 ‘ being a runaway—said his name was *James T.*
 ‘ *Callender*, lately from Philadelphia, printer of a
 ‘ paper published in that city ; that he came from
 ‘ thence into this state (Virginia) at the particular
 ‘ request of General Mason, at whose house he
 ‘ then resided ; that his papers were at General
 ‘ Mason’s, and that he (General Mason) would
 ‘ give any satisfaction that might be required re-
 ‘ specting his character.

‘ PAT’K CAVAN.

‘ JOSEPH SMITH.’

‘ *Loudoun ssd.*

‘ The above certificate was sworn to, this 13th
 ‘ day of August, 1798, before

‘ SAMUEL MURRAY.’

No. II.—‘ We, the subscribers, being present
 ‘ when a person apprehended on suspicion of being
 ‘ a runaway from the *wheelbarrow*, on the Balti-
 ‘ more

‘ more roads, was examined before the magistrates,
 ‘ who said his name was *James T. Callender*, lately
 ‘ from Philadelphia, and Printer. That he came
 ‘ into the state of (Virginia) at the particular re-
 ‘ quest of General *S. T. Mason*, at whose house he
 ‘ then resided.

‘ JOHN JACOBS,
 ‘ JOHN M‘CORMUCK,
 ‘ JACOB MOORE,
 ‘ THOS. WILKINSON.’

‘ The above certificate was sworn to by the
 ‘ subscribers, before

‘ SAMUEL MURRAY.

August 13, 1798.’

‘ Time being allowed Callender to procure his
 ‘ papers, at five o’clock (the time appointed for
 ‘ him to appear before the magistrates), Gen. S.
 ‘ T. Mason appeared in his behalf: produced a
 ‘ certificate of his naturalization, and said he was a
 ‘ man of good character.

‘ PATRICK CAVAN.’

‘ Mr. GIRD,

‘ Having seen, in your paper of September 1,
 ‘ 1798, an elaborate production of Stevens Thom-
 ‘ son Mason, the FIGHTING and LYING brigadier-
 ‘ general of Loudoun county, marked with that
 ‘ species of language termed by dictionaryans *true*
 ‘ *Billingsgate*, I am induced to trouble you also.
 ‘ As the *magnanimous* general has commenced in
 ‘ that style, it may not be amiss to pursue it, though
 ‘ unfortunately I have no Callender to refresh my
 ‘ memory. He (General Mason), in his vin-
 ‘ dication, has established, instead of invalidating,
 ‘ every one of the charges brought against him as to
 ‘ his harbouring and making a bosom friend of the
 infan-

‘ infamous understrapper, of *the still more infamous*
‘ *understrapper of the French directory*. This being
‘ determined, let us now take a retrospective view
‘ of his former conduct, and by way of query.
‘ General Mason does not, and has not, your ob-
‘ jections to the British treaty, arisen from the
‘ *pleasing* circumstance, as an *honest man*, of its
‘ obliging you to pay large sums of money due to
‘ the merchants of that nation?—Did not your
‘ premature disclosure of that treaty, contrary to
‘ your solemn obligation, arise from a hope that
‘ the efforts of the sons of anarchy and misrule
‘ might induce the executive not to ratify it?—
‘ Have not you and your brothers, not forgetting
‘ Callender, your esteemed and worthy yoke fellow,
‘ ever since its ratification, been in the continued
‘ habit of abusing the constitution, the executive,
‘ and the majorities of both houses of Congress?
‘ —Have you paid all your lawful debts?—and
‘ how did you settle with your fellow patriots,
‘ Clingman and M’Gaw, of *honest* memory, for
‘ the barrel of rum, which, as is the case when you
‘ can get it, you purchased on credit; and, after
‘ you had swigged it out, said it was New-England
‘ rum?—Did not Clingman make you retreat into
‘ the ferry boat, and did not Georgetown shelter
‘ you and your infamy?—Did you ever in a
‘ manly and spirited manner call to account any of
‘ the persons who have so often made your con-
‘ duct the subject of animadversion? If you do
‘ not answer those queries, the public can; and
‘ the name of Joseph Smith will lose nothing by
‘ being compared with that of *Stevens Thompson*
‘ *Mason*. One proof more of General Mason’s
‘ *love of truth*, and a *test* for his *courage*. I am
‘ credibly informed, that he has publicly as-
‘ serted that I signed the address to the President
‘ of the United States three several times. Now I
‘ do

‘ do hereby make known and declare, that the
 ‘ above assertion of Stevens T. Mason, Esq. sena-
 ‘ tor of the United States, and brigadier-general,
 ‘ is an *infamous lie*.

‘ JOSEPH SMITH.’

Was ever wretch sunk so low as this? Was ever nation so disgraced by its representatives? If this be a specimen of the good effects of *universal suffrage*, I believe it will find few advocates, except amongst the dregs of mankind.

What an infinite satisfaction it must be to such men as MASON and the HERO OF MUD FORT, to see these accounts of themselves in my paper, which they must know will bear their blasted characters to every district of America, to every island in the West-Indies, to Canada and Nova-Scotia, to every corner of the British empire, and over great part of the rest of the world!

To Peter Porcupine.—“ Sir, you must have been informed, through the different newspapers of our city, that General Samuel Smith is a candidate in opposition to James Winchester, Esq. to represent this district in Congress; but there is one fact, to which you are probably a stranger, and which I think it my duty to make known to you, as it cannot with convenience to my feelings, be communicated through the medium of either of our public papers.

“ I mean the infringement on the rights and liberty of the press, which hath been practised by General Smith, on the first commencement of his offering himself a candidate, in opposition to Mr. Winchester, by calling on the different Baltimore printers, and making them promise they would not suffer any pieces to appear in their papers without
 having

having the real names of the authors. This I call an infringement of the liberty of the press, because it has a tendency to check that freedom of investigation and scrutiny to which the character of every candidate ought to be subject, especially where the candidate has resorted to the means practised by our gasconading general; such as calling the people together himself, and sounding to them his own praise, birth, fortune, bravery, and love of country, &c. &c.

“ But, artful and designing as he has been, and mean and pitiful as our printers must appear in the eyes of the public, in submitting to become either the slaves of party or the dupes of General Smith, whilst you are alive, and whilst you support a public press, I have the consoling hope, that you will as firmly support its freedom, and as strongly advocate the liberty of the press, as you will support the independence of our country and the government thereof.

“ In effecting this object with our printers, the general must have contemplated two great ends, either to bring those men of reputation and character forward, who might oppose his election as objects of resentment and marks to be aimed at by the whole host of Baltimore Jacobins, who in their characters could not be rendered more filthy by being daubed—or deter those opposed to him in sentiment from opposing his election, and from disclosing his past conduct and his future hopes. I therefore beg, through the channel of your independent paper, to make known to the people at large a few sketches of the past conduct of our heroic gasconading Brigadier, that such of his constituents as are in the habit of reading your paper may behold him in his most shining colours; viz.

“ His well-known fondness for clandestine commerce, and his frequent practice of packing quarter
casks

casks of gunpowder in the middle of flour barrels, and shipping them as barrels of flour to the French ports in the West-Indies.

“ His declaring about the time that French depredations commenced with vigour, against the commerce of America, that if the French were to land in an hostile way, at North Point, he would not oppose them.

“ His advising and recommending to some of the militia companies of Baltimore, to assemble and pay a congratulatory salute to the French Commodore Barney, at his lodgings, several days after he had arrived in Baltimore, and which was accordingly done.

“ His handsome provision contract entered into with Commodore Barney, for supplying the French troops at Cape François, whilst he, General Smith, was a member of Congress.

“ His obtaining from Commodore Barney, French protections, signed by Santhonax, Raymond, and Pascal—to cover the property of himself and his friends, from being captured by the armed vessels and privateers of the French republic, when he was shipping the said property, and clearing it out for British ports, and making insurance against sea risk only.

“ His strenuously advocating the French cause, and the Jacobin party in Congress, at the same time, when he was carrying on the above trade and practices.

“ His gasconading harangues, at the different battalion meetings in Baltimore county, boasting of his acquired wealth, his bravery, his military and commercial abilities, and his love for the people, &c.

“ His unequalled effrontery in giving the lie to the certificates produced by Col. Howard, Col. O'Donnell, and Mr. Barry, and afterward's his acknowledged-

knowledge of the facts by them stated, by admitting the charges to be positively true.

“His illiberal abuse lavished out against those who have opposed his election, or exposed the inconsistency of his character.

“His unparalleled shiftings and twistings, in avoiding to answer in the affirmative, the question repeatedly put to him, “Are you, General Smith, “a decided friend to the government of the United States, and its administration, and will you firmly “support the Constitution?”

“His late effort to secure his interest in the country, by going to a country church, and putting thirty dollars in the box thereof—a handsome douceur in a remote and poor part of the country.

“This sketch of a few of General Smith’s tricks, you will be pleased to give a place in your impartial paper, for the benefit of the unwary, and the detection of Jacobinism, and oblige

“A REAL AMERICAN.”

“*Baltimore, Sept. 18, 1798.*”

Copies of Original Letters, recently written by Persons in Paris, to DR. PRIESTLEY, in America, taken on Board of a Neutral Vessel.

P R E F A C E.

London, May 14, 1798.

The letters of which the following are literal copies, were found on board of a Danish ship*,

* The *Christiana*, Nicholas Albosted, Master.

lately

lately brought into one of our ports, by the Diamond Frigate. The originals were inclosed in a cover directed to "*Dr. Priestley, in America.*" They have been exhibited, with the usual attestations, in the High Court of Admiralty, as part of the evidence in the proceedings against the above-mentioned ship, and her cargo, and are now remaining on record, in the public registry of that court. Their authenticity is, therefore, placed beyond a dispute, and may be personally ascertained by any man who chuses to take that trouble.

These letters relate almost exclusively to public matters; and their contents must be deemed interesting to every man who has a stake in the welfare of his country, or of any other civilized nation. Of the situation of the writers, and of the means of their information, little need be said; because the letters themselves speak sufficiently to those points. Mr. J. H. Stone is the brother of the person, acquitted about two years ago on a charge of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, in conjunction with one Jackson, who was convicted at Dublin, on a similar accusation. Mr. Stone has been settled at Paris ever since the revolution; he is the friend of Priestley and Talleyrand, and is intimately connected with Citizen Gallois*. Of the lady nothing need be said, be-

* This is the same Gallois who was lately sent over here by the Directory, on the pretence of negotiating the exchange of prisoners. It was soon found that he had nothing to propose on this subject; and his conduct, intercourse, and connections, proving that his business was of a very different nature, he was ordered to reside at some distance from London; upon which he immediately quitted the country, although his pretended business did not require his residence in town; but might as easily have been carried on in any other place, as indeed the fact had proved in the instance of Mr. Swinburn, who for many months was not suffered to come to Paris.

yond what is publicly known, or what these letters will supply. Nor do the character and principles of Dr. Priestley require any illustration, any more than the nature of his prophecies, on the faith of which he is invited, by Mr. Stone, to return and fix his residence in England, "SUCH AS " ENGLAND WILL THEN BE." A recommendation with which the Doctor may possibly not yet think it prudent to comply.

The papers themselves abound with matter of the most serious reflection. Volumes of commentaries might be written on such a text. If the animosity of these apostate Englishmen against their own country, their conviction that NO SUBMISSIONS will avert our danger, and their description of the engines employed by the Directory for our destruction, were impressed, as they ought to be, upon the minds of all our countrymen, we should certainly never again be told of the innocent designs of these traitors, or their associates;—We should hear no more declaimers, or pamphleteers, calling out for peace, which even dishonour cannot purchase;—We should no longer see men of any rank or description amongst us acting, in this hour of danger, as Mr. Stone describes the Directory to act, and *flattering every passion and every prejudice, in order to disunite the people of England from their Government.*

Nor is it to us alone, that these instructive lessons are addressed. The picture which these letters exhibit of what has already past in Europe, and the prophetic statement of what is yet to come, are calculated (if any thing can yet do it) to rouse the apathy of those surrounding governments, whose ruin is fast approaching. They will find here every feature and lineament of the true Jacobin character. They will see the philosophical indifference with which Mr. Stone views the misfortunes of others, provided

provided they contribute to support his systems ;—his tranquil and contented acquiescence in the punishment of his friends and accomplices, condemned to an exile much worse than death, for crimes, of which he says no man of common sense (even among their judges or their accusers) thought them guilty ;—his insulting display of all the pillage, proscription, and massacre, which his principles have produced within so few years ;—*a pretty decent progress*, as he calls it, *within so short a time !—*

“ A world of woes dispatch'd in little space !”

his exultation in the overthrow of peaceful and unoffending governments ;—his triumph over the devastation of free, and happy countries ;—the delight with which he contemplates millions of his fellow creatures reduced to the most degrading slavery, and groaning under the yoke of the lowest and the worst of mankind ;—and last, but most of all, the rapacious and sanguinary joy with which he enumerates the fresh kingdoms and empires devoted to the same destruction—closing the brilliant prospect with the view of his own great, glorious, and flourishing country, torn by intestine discord, desolated by the ravages of a relentless and savage enemy, and sinking under the utmost extremities of human misery !

We who are not yet enlightened by this philosophy, which tolerates every thing except Christianity, and feels for every thing but human happiness, believe and trust that there is yet a Providence who watches over the fate of empires—just and powerful to confound the devices of these PROFLIGATE TRAITORS, and to turn to their own destruction the blow which is aimed at our existence.

.....

Paris, 12th Feb. 1798, (25 Pluviôse, 6 Year.)

DEAR SIR,

Although it is now a very considerable time that we have not had the pleasure of hearing immediately from you yourself; yet, either by way of England, or by citizens coming from America, we are seldom for a long time without tidings of a more or less particular nature concerning you. The last we received from a young Frenchman, who tells us, that he has been particularly acquainted with you, and rejoiced us with the agreeable information, that at the peace you would not fail to revisit Europe; and that he hoped you would fix yourself in this country. Whether you fix yourself here or in England (*as England will then be*), is probably a matter of little importance, except to your friends, who will naturally be anxious to have you each where themselves are fixed; but we all think that you are misplaced where you are, though, no doubt, in the way of usefulness,* however the sphere may be diminished. As you have now a friend on the Continent who can discuss this point with you better than myself, I leave it to his and your meditation, and enter on other matters.

I presume that you are not so far removed from the centre of the political world, in your retreat at

* Dr. Priestley is *in the way of usefulness* in America, because he is labouring there, as his associates are in Europe, to disunite the people from their government, and to introduce the blessings of French anarchy. But the sphere is too confined for his exertions. To produce the misery of four or five millions of men who have afforded him hospitality and protection, and to make the Western world the scene of desolation and confusion, is a result good as far as it goes, but hardly worth the labours of this great Prophet and Philosopher!—*Æstuat infelix, angusto limite mundi.*

Northumberland,* as not to be duly informed of the principal events that are passing in Europe, although you may not know much of the detail. You will of course have heard that our OLD COUNTRY is now the only one left to struggle against the French Republic, and left *under every disadvantage, that every friend to her real welfare would wish*; namely, in a very fair way of accomplishing your prophetic discourses, delivered at various times, and divers manners, of which *happily* they took no account.

You will have heard of the vast armaments and preparations of every kind which have been making for some months past, and which are carrying forward with all that energy and activity which characterizes this nation, when they have a purpose in hand which they must go through, cost what it will. Of its cost they are well aware†, and I

* In America, the place of Doctor Priestley's residence.

† This passage may serve to confute the foolish notion that France, if unable to subdue us, is able to wear us out by a content of expense. The expenditure of France, little if at all inferior to ours, is drawn from the bowels of a totally exhausted country, without any means of external aid. Our navy by the protection of a continually increasing commerce, and by the consequent extension of agriculture and manufactures, contains within itself the principle of its own supply. Nor is it probable that any member of the French government can even form an idea of the extent of our resources, when animated and called forth by the spirit which now prevails in England.

It may indeed be doubted, notwithstanding Mr. Stone's assertion, whether the Directory have yet learnt what the attempt *will cost them*, unless they have begun to calculate it on the scale of Marcou.

A famous Turkish general having after a siege of two months, and a loss of eight thousand men, taken the fort of St. Elmo, an inconsiderable fortress of Malta, exclaimed: "If this be the price of the daughter, what will the mother cost us?"

should make use of a term, very insignificant in the expression, if I said they were only enthusiastic to put their projects in execution, they are so earnest in it as if their existence here, *and their eternal welfare* depended on the trial.—The invasion of England is a *denrée* of merchandize of the first necessity for them, and I should doubt whether any concession on the part of England could now avert the experiment: whether it will be a fatal one to its government, time only can determine. In the mean time the government here are putting in work every engine, attempting to engage every passion, to enlist every prejudice, nevertheless always anxious to discriminate between the government and the people, flattering the one, as much as they profess to execrate the other.*

While this last act of the French drama of this eventful struggle is taking place, the republic has been playing a few interludes in various parts of Europe. You have heard of the destruction of the government of Venice, of the regeneration of that of Genoa, of the constitutional fermentation of the Cisalpine republic;—the news of the present period is the fall of the papal power, the possession of Rome by the French troops on account of the late massacre†, and the formation of this country into

* The preface has already pointed out this passage to the attention of all Englishmen. It contains the summary of all that we ever could have to fear in this country. But the game is no longer concealed—the disguise is gross and manifest. Venice, Genoa, and Switzerland, have taught us all to estimate the value of French fraternity. No artifices employed by France, no language used in this country, from whatever quarter it may come, will now divide the people from their government.

† Nothing is more curious in the history of Jacobinism than its phraseology. Are prisoners, women, priests, and children, butchered by thousands at a time, in cold blood, and with every

into a new government under the name of the Roman republic. In like manner as the French troops are now employed in pulling down the chief spiritual power in one part, another portion is occupied in overturning the genius of aristocracy in the Swiss Cantons, each of which, under the influence of the French republic, are busied in destroying their present tyrannic oligarchies, and melting the whole into an Helvetic republic, founded on the basis of the Rights of Man, with a representative government. Of the nature of their past governments, and the abuses which they contain, you will have a pretty just idea, if two volumes in octavo, of a View of Switzerland, written by Miss H. M. Williams, and now publishing in London, shall happen to fall into your hands.* The spirit of equality, which has retraversed the Alps, has also entered the Rhine. The province of Suabia, is in

every aggravated circumstances of cruelty? These are called *Revolutionary incidents*, ebullitions of popular zeal. But if, by the just resentment of a people whose religion he is insulting, and whose government he is labouring to overthrow, a Jacobin should perish in a riot of his own exciting, this becomes a *massacre*, for which no satisfaction will suffice, short of delivering over a whole nation to pillage and proscription, to anarchy and atheism.

* This passage affords a curious commentary on the work here mentioned, which in principle and sentiment, can only be illustrated by the conduct of the *female Patriots*; who, after the massacre of the 10th of August, stripped and mutilated the carcasses of the Swiss troops, who had then (as their brethren have since) fallen, in the discharge of their duty, and in the defence of a just cause. It must here be observed, that the unceasing industry with which the English press is loaded with libels on every established government, and on the whole state of society in Europe, under the form of novels, voyages, letters, and anecdotes, is one of those signs of the times (as Mr. Stone calls them) which most deserve the attention of those who wish well to morality and public order.

insurrection in divers places, and though troops are marching to endeavour to suppress it, we expect to hear that the contagion spreads more rapidly. The state of the empire is such, especially among the little provinces, as to encourage this spirit of revolt. France at present treats the whole so much *de haut en bas*, that the people can present but few sentiments of respect when they see their governors treated with so much contempt.*

The Congress assembled at Radstadt, continue to object to the limits of the Rhine, as the boundary of the French Republic; but as there is so much force on the one side, and so little reason on the other, it is easy to decide how the matter will be arranged. At present, the Rhine is the boundary; the Court of Vienna has consented to the cession, having no personal interest to the contrary; and the King of Prussia has actually given up the provinces of Cleves and Guelders, and whatever other territory he held on this side the river. If, therefore, the Princes do not yield with a good grace, to the present secularization, they will be compelled to a still greater; and, probably at this moment, it is finally and irrevocably determined, that the whole Ecclesiastical part of Germany shall be secularized.

What compensation the King of Prussia receives, is not yet decided on—it is probable, he will have Hanover, if arrangements can be taken without hurting the interests of the neighbouring friendly powers, but nothing is yet finally settled in that quarter.

* No sentiment can be more just. It would be well if every government in Europe were impressed with this opinion. The late display of the tricolor flag at Vienna, proves, among a thousand other instances, how attentive the Directory is to the principle on which the remark is grounded,

Whatever

Whatever can tend to humble the English government, is most anxiously sought after, in whatever shape the mode of opposition presents itself. The only, or almost the only outlet for English merchandize, is the port of Hamburgh. The French, who have at present long arms, have stretched out one of their fingers towards that town, and have, as we understand, even laid it on. We expect to hear every post, that the port is shut against the English, and that the English merchandize, which is emmagazined there, to the amount of three or four millions, is confiscated *. What the fate of these petty oligarchies in the North will be, is yet uncertain : whether these towns, such as Hamburgh, Embden, Franckfort, will remain as they are, under the great changes operating in the Empire ; or, whether they will be amalgamated with some other territory †, and till the general day of deliverance arrives, which, according to the signs, does not appear to be at a very great distance.

Of those ancient and regular governments that will soon fall, Spain seems determined to take the

* The reader must not imagine that, because this prediction has not yet been verified, it is therefore a proof of ignorance in the writer. It is known to many persons, that this project was actually decided upon by France, and that its execution was prevented only by the fear of opposition from those continental powers, the ruin of whose commerce was involved in the consequences of such a measure.

† Such is the nature of the acquisitions which the Directory encourages the Princes of Germany to make at the expense of their neighbours. They are to be annexed to their territories only for the present, and till *the general deliverance* arrives. A spirit of justice or wisdom, is said to have influenced the two great powers of the Empire, to reject these poisoned gifts, and to refuse to lend themselves to the accomplishment of such iniquitous and dangerous projects. May this be the symptom of returning reason on other points not less important !

lead.

lead. Every thing internal is big with revolution, according to all the accounts which travellers of observation and veracity bring us from thence. In addition to this, the French government are on the point of demanding very serious explanation, why, during a year and a half of hostility with England, Spain has been more sedulous to help the common enemy, than aid the interests of her ally, the French Republic. It is not very doubtful, that one of the interludes before alluded to, will be the march of an army across the Pyrenees, through Madrid to Lisbon, unless the demands made by the French government, be instantly complied with, which are said to be the delivery of the Spanish Fleet into the hands of the French, to be put under the direction of French officers, and the invasion of the kingdom of Portugal by the Spanish troops. In this alternative, it seems that Spain is placed, trembling on every side for her present political existence, and with good reason to tremble. If these two governments, which will then form one, be also revolutionized, a considerable portion of longitude and latitude in Europe, will take the republican system, and we shall have made *pretty decent progress*, considering the little space of time we have had to operate in, and the obstacles we have hitherto met with, which are at present considerably removed.

Amidst these changes without, you will, no doubt, be surprised to hear of an unexpected change, that takes place from time to time, within. You will have trembled for our Constitution, and probably felt *some alarm for liberty* on the events of the 18th Fructidor; you will have felt similar *disagreeable sensations*, in hearing of the late arrests of the deputies in Holland. These are events, no doubt, *very distressing*; but unfortunately we are so placed as to be obliged to commit
one

one evil to avoid an accumulation * ; no one pretends that either those men, at least the immense majority of them, who have been sent from time to time to Cayenne, or the Dutch deputies now under arrest, are enemies either to Liberty or their respective Republics ; *no one of common sense entertains this opinion* : knowing many of this conquered party intimately, I can aver, that they have left none behind more pure in manners, or more decided in favour of republican liberty. But, unfortunately, those of France suffered their personal passions to interfere with their political duties, and they lent unwittingly their aid to those who wished to crush the Republic, while their only aim was to crush the men in power, whom they considered as usurpers, and whom they hated. The men in power WERE TOO WELL VERSED IN REVOLUTIONS not to amalgamate their own personal enemies with those of the state ; and, hence arises the expedition to Cayenne. Take the inverse ; suppose the conquered party had triumphed, we should have either an interminable civil war, or Royalty, if it were possible for this exploded system to return, would have been restored. These exiles would themselves have been the first victims of their own operations. In Holland, these deputies confirmed the government ; in France, the government overthrew the opposition, then the opposition overthrew the government. The government of Holland, though indebted for its political existence to France, has

* The invariable progress of guilt ! The consequences of one crime produce the necessity of another, till at length a situation arises, from which there is no receding ; but, where the callous conscience, even of the most sanguinary Democrat, feels remorse and horror.

Facilis descensus averni,
Sed revocare gradum ! - -

all along shewn a *most misplaced spirit of independence*; and although the restitution of its colonies seemed the only barrier to a peace with England, has manifested a considerable degree of tardiness to join in the operations against that power. The imprudent and ever-suspected conduct of the government, in sending out the fleet to be taken by the English, and the reluctance they have shewn to come to any constitutional settlement, on the basis of equality, such as it is now generally understood, has led the French government to lend its hand to the party of the opposition, who were more complying, and the government has changed its hands. It was not difficult to foresee that this event, or a similar would take place. I had occasion to notice, during a short visit I made this last summer at the Hague, that cordiality between the two governments, would not be of very long duration; and, oftentimes they were told by M. Noel, the French ambassador, as he himself informed me, that unless they would *defer their extreme love of independence to a more convenient season*, and join more heartily with the French government in its great plan, they would rue the consequence*, which the event has justified. It is happy, however, that these evils are not out of the reach of repair—the peace will, no doubt, restore every thing to its original position.

In the mean while, every thing within, is in a state of the most perfect tranquillity. The *public force* has *compressed* the attempts both of Jacobins and Royalists, and there appears no kind of reason for supposing, that we shall have any more of these *civil movements* at present. The country, so far as

* This is the people whom France professed to deliver from the yoke of England!

respects its domicile state, is more advantageously situated than any other in Europe. Agriculture was never so much the rage, and manufactures, *but for the great encouragement given to English produce*, would have been equally thriving. Every thing in this country is as cheap again as in England; bread is from a half-penny to three farthings a-pound; meat from three pence to four pence, and other articles in proportion *. The difference of expense, will no doubt make France the residence of vast numbers at the peace, independent of its other attractions, such as its being the centre of every thing that is sublime and elegant in the arts. The spoils of Italy are on their way to Paris. There will be collected in one point of view, especially since the late events at Rome, all that formerly attracted the visits of travellers to various parts of Italy. The government is also solicitous to make the best use of the treasure which it possesses, by constructing museums, academies, walks; and, by enumerating the public promenades and gardens, recal, as far as possible, the brilliant, scientific, and literary æras of the Grecian republics.

If there is any thing that meets with discouragement from government in this country, that refers to public instruction, it is the remains of the Roman Catholic Religion, which, with all the letters and laws of tolerance, which have been passed, has not been able to raise itself up from under the crush of the interdict, which the combined powers of philosophy and terror have laid on it. You have heard, no doubt, of the new sect which now

* The falsehood of this assertion hardly deserves refutation.— Every one knows that in such a comparison, the quality, as well as the nominal price of the articles, must be considered.

has usurped every church in Paris, under the name of Theophilanthropism. This sect is prohibited by the government; but it is in the hands of ignorant men, who do not know how to use the weapons that are put into their hands. They are, however, for the most part well intentioned; and were they the means of information, *would probably make good Christians*. Nothing is read here on these subjects; because, nothing is wrote. We have seen nothing but Mr. Paine's Age of Reason; of which an immense edition in French was published, and not twenty copies were sold. I am told, he has also been rejected from the society of the Theophilanthropes, on the charge of intolerance. They have, at least, refused his offers of public instruction. Some atheistical tracts have been published, which have been little attended to, and the mind is floating at present, not knowing on what ground to repose, unwilling to reject the Christian religion, and yet ignorant how to distinguish the wheat from the chaff.

Our national institute goes on, reading and publishing, and has just appearance of activity, though nothing of very considerable importance has been done since its formation. I believe I mentioned to you in my last letter, that Favery is about to publish a History of Chemistry, or, at least, is busily employed in writing, in the mode, as I understand, from himself, of your History of Optics and Electricity. I have a packet of books done up for you, at a bookseller's; but the hopes of seeing you in France, hindered me from sending them at the period I might have sent them, and now it would be extremely hazardous, since all American vessels are made prizes, and there is no security of conveyance; nevertheless, if I find a fortunate opportunity, I shall send them, for I fear that we shall yet delay to see you here.

Whether

Whether we shall continue or increase our hostilities towards the United States, is as yet uncertain ; all depends on the great operation directed against England *. If that succeeds, English influence will probably not predominate amongst you. In the mean time, it is most likely that the French will go on as at present, treating *with as little ceremony as usual* every thing that relates to America. John Adams's speech on the opening of Congress caused a few smiles ; the more so, as it was understood to be a speech full of thunder and menace against France. Nothing is wanting but the interposition of some upright and patriotic citizen, to settle† the misunderstanding ; but I fear *it will not be done in John Adams's time.*

I inclose a note for our friend M. B. P. ; but as ignorant of the name he bears at present among you, I must beg you to seal and address it. We have heard nothing of him since his departure, and know but vaguely that he is secreted at present at Kennebeck. Mr. Skipwith has promised that a letter shall be conveyed safely to you : I have therefore taken the opportunity of writing you a triple letter ; and but for fear of wearying your

* Mr. Stone's opinion on this point is not singular. There are few persons in Europe or America who do not now feel that their existence depends on our safety. If more anxiety is not expressed on the subject by foreigners, it proceeds from the confidence which our fleets inspire, and to which they are well entitled. We, for our part, have a stronger ground of confidence—a confidence in OURSELVES.

† If report is to be credited, the Directory were by no means averse to *settle the misunderstanding* in the usual mode, of the particulars of which M. d'Arango, and other negotiators, who have treated *personally* with them, can give a very accurate account, provided they are out of the reach of a *magnétisme d'arrêt*. What pity that no upright and patriotic citizen could be found to comply with this *upright and patriotic demand!*

patience, so much multiplied are events, I could fill half a dozen more. The History of the events in France of the last year you will find pretty largely detailed in the New Annual Register*, to which my present is a kind of supplement; but we hope that you will not long delay to be a fellow-witness of them with ourselves. I remain, with sentiments of the highest respect,

Your very faithful

And sincere friend,

J. H. STONE.

MY DEAR SIR,

A very safe conveyance, by a friend of Mr. Skipwith, having presented itself, I have taken occasion to address something like a packet to Dr. Priestley, and shall also take the same opportunity of sending a few lines to yourself. We rest in faith, that you are safe and sound on some portion of the great Continent; but in what sign of the Zodiack, we are as ignorant as if you were in the moon. We have heard nothing of you, or from you, directly or indirectly, since your departure; and, according to all appearance, shall have nothing from you till your return. I suppose, at least, you are within the knowledge of human events, which are passing so rapidly around us, as to furnish you with sufficient food for meditation even in your retreat. You will, no doubt, be a little surprised, and not a little pleased, to know that there exists two such powers in the world as the *Roman Republic* and the *Helve-*

* This reference is very characteristic of the principles and views which have uniformly directed the publication here mentioned.

tian Republic, one and indivisible. These operations are now taking place with great celerity; and, I suppose, it will not be long before you will hear of an Iberian Republic, of a Lusitanian Republic, &c. &c. &c. In short, the political world rolls so rapidly, that we scarce have time to look around us, and *admire* the revolution of one spot, before we are called off to look after another. Turkey is not exempt from the contagion. The Grecian States have felt the influence of the general insurrection, and both the northern and southern states in Europe, of this empire, are in a state of rebellious combustion. You will also have been much surprised to have seen the history of our internal rebellions, since your departure—the promotion and exile of Barthélemy—the promotion of Talleyrand, and his remaining in place*—*the mission of our friend Gallois*, &c. With respect to the events of the 18th Fructidor, you have, no doubt, from your very intimate knowledge of the politics of this country, drawn the just conclusions. It has been a happy event for the country, and attended with the happiest consequences. Regret no doubt that these individual evils take place, but incalculable evils have thereby been avoided; for though the conquered party HAD NO VIEW AGAINST THE REPUBLIC, yet the hosts of emi-

* This is justly stated. The promotion (as it is called) of a noble, a priest, a bishop, and an émigré, to be one of the ministers of the Directory, might well surprise a person who had probably seen and conversed with Talleyrand in America. To be promoted and then exiled, is not indeed matter of much surprise; but to be promoted and to remain for any considerable time in place has not happened to any Revolutionist yet, and we believe it never will: though Mr. Stone tells us that Talleyrand so conducts himself as to make his place respectable, and to ensure his continuance in it.—Two things which do not seem very consistent, when applied to the situation of a Minister of the French Directory.

grants and royalists, armed and prepared for action, which at that time filled Paris, relied on this party for their support.

The government since has conducted itself with great prudence and moderation, considering the circumstances in which it was placed. It has, however, taken a firm * and is likely to meet with no more disturbances. The minister who has the greatest influence, and who throws a lustre over the rest, is the Citizen Talleyrand. He so conducts himself, as not only to make his place respectable, but so as to insure his continuance in it. We are also good friends—I see him now and then at his hotel, and once or twice he has done me the honour of a visit. On occasions, which some day in the history of events I may tell you, he continually enquires for you, and begs his best remembrances. The great actor is the Director Merlin—he was at our house the day before yesterday, and we renewed our acquaintance.

The person who goes out next month is François de Neufchâteau†, and his successor will be named in consequence of a new regulation by the present legislator : so that the same spirit will continue to direct operations as before. The police is very strong and active;—many towns in the South Army (among which Lyons) are put *en état de siège*‡, and every measure has been taken to repress the spirit of fanaticism and royalty, which, without the 18th Fructidor, would have overturned the

* Not legible.

† This is the true system of a constitutional rotation of office by lot, when the person on whom the lot is to fall is known, and declared, three months before the dice are cast. Since this was written, it is reported, that these great men have quarrelled about the price of this political swindling, and that they are all to stand their lot except Merlin.

‡ Observe the picture drawn by these conspirators of the country in which they live, and which they say is in its domestic state
mor

Republic, or plunged it into the horrors of civil war and confusion.

Your convert is very busy in collecting over the remains of his tottering faith; the good man has just written a letter to the Grand Inquisition of Spain, which, translated into Spanish, is to be distributed in that country. Spain is not very far from a revolution, and it is likely that these latter events will take place before the English expedition, for which immense preparations are making. Of the revolution of Switzerland you will see the accounts in the public papers. Our friend Le Grand is preparing a constitution for the new republic. Ochs has been very officious in this business, and has been here shewing himself off as the sole and great regenerator of his country. However, the thing is done; and the three-coloured flag, with William Tell's hat, has displaced the* on the Council House of Berne. You will probably see Miss W's. two volumes of Travels by the time this reaches you.

And now a few words on domestic affairs. The manufactory of which you laid the corner stone is now finished, and forms one of the finest establishments in France.—But it has been subject to many mutations since you left us:—Mr. Parker, for instance, has met with such a reverse of fortune, that he has not been able to pay more than one-third of one action;—neither De Wit nor Van Stephent, or any of their original properties, are any thing in it. But we have among our friends got a very respecta-

more advantageously situated than the rest of Europe.—Its manufactures are annihilated, its religion is interdicted, the public mind is floating between atheists and drivellers. Its legislators and governors are seized and transported without the pretence of guilt—Its principal cities are in a state of siege—and all this is done to avoid an accumulation of worse evils!

* Not legible.

ble company, who have paid in their shares, and the establishment is new entirely. I have paid in two shares, and am allowed till *Prairial* to make up the third, by the pot or pearl-ash we expect from America. If they do not arrive, I forfeit the pledge I have put in. Whether that is to come, if you would give us a single line to inform us, you would much oblige us. You will not be displeased at this work of your hands, when you come to see what a superb place, as well as convenient one,

M. TALLEYRAND IS A SUBSCRIBER.

In the pleasing expectation of seeing you once more among us, I subscribe for myself, as well as for Gallois, Talleyrand, Erigone, and our family,

Your most faithful—

12th February, 1798.

.....

Pray are you continuing your speculations on the great events? are you in the press?—Dr. G—— has written us that he has sent to your order the books you wrote.—Is there any thing here that we can send you?

P. S. If pot or pearl-ash could be sent, and a credit of nine or twelve months given, it would answer the same purpose as if it was sent from the works. I shall then be in full cash to answer it.

The first opportunity, the French translation of my Swiss Travels—for I have no English copy in my possession.—It is translated with great elegance by M. Say, *Rédacteur* of the *Décade Philosophique*.—I flatter myself you will approve the spirit in which it is written.

With the warmest wishes for your happiness, and for all who are dear to you, believe me ever,

My dear Sir,

Your most affectionate—

My

My mother and sister are well, and I have two charming little nephews—the eldest is already an excellent republican.

In another Hand.—I snatch a little scrap of M.'s paper, to recal myself to your remembrance, and to remind you, my dear Sir, that we count the seasons for the fulfilment of your promise to your friends in this part of the world.—All here remember you with those sentiments of respect and affection, and regret your loss with that unaffected concern to which you have such claim. We hope the period is not distant when those requests will cease.—

REMARKS ON THE EXPLANATION, LATELY PUBLISHED BY DR. PRIESTLEY, RESPECTING THE INTERCEPTED LETTERS OF HIS FRIEND AND DISCIPLE, JOHN H. STONE.

Introductory Address to the People of Birmingham.—The factious disposition of *Doctor Priestley*; the feuds he excited in England; the violence to which his insolence roused some misguided men, and the melancholy consequences of those violences, must all be remembered by the *People of Birmingham*.

As he, at last, left his country, in search, as he professed, only of security and repose, it might have been expected from a "*Saint*," that he would have forgotten the objects of his enmity. But oblivion of resentment is no article of the *Seſtarian Creed*. No sooner had he set his foot on the shores of America, than he recommenced a series of calumnies against his former neighbours and government, which, either in the form of paragraphs,

letters, or sermons, he has, till very lately, continued with little intermission.

Those calumnies, I, as an Englishman, felt it my duty to repel. Unlearned as I was, I had never before ventured to commit my thoughts to the press; but fired with indignation, and knowing that I had truth on my side, I feared neither the shafts of ridicule, nor the dagger of malice. Success has attended my endeavours. In spite of the almost general prejudice which then existed against the British nation; in spite of the Doctor's experience in such warfare, and his vast superiority in point of abilities; in spite of myriads of virulent and lying newspapers and pamphlets, aided by the clamours of a numerous democratic faction; in spite of all these disadvantages, I have lived to see the truth of my statements, and the justice of my opinions respecting Priestley, fully and universally acknowledged. Assuredly the battle has not been unto the strong. The Goliath of Literature has fled from the sling of the shepherd's boy.

Since a desire to defend you, the people of Birmingham, against the malignant aspersions of Doctor Priestley, was, in some degree, the cause of my first attempting to write, I am persuaded you will not think it unnatural, that I address to you this pamphlet, the intent of which is to prove, that this *Apostle of Sedition*, go where he will, into whatever country, and under whatever government, still carries with him the same hostility to all lawful power; that he is still the admirer of the woeful revolution of France; that he still entertains against Great Britain, and her institutions, a hatred which neither time, nor distance, nor a conviction of his errors, nor the advance of age, can remove, diminish, or mollify; that he still wishes her revolutionized and ruined, and still indulges the wicked,
though

though delusive hope, of seeing his wishes accomplished.

WM. COBBETT.

Bustleton, 12th Sep. 1798.

REMARKS, &c.

The intercepted letters of Stone were received in America by the June Packet. Their appearance, first in my Gazette, and successively in all the public papers in the United States, except those notoriously devoted to the cause of France, is a fact too well known to be mentioned here with any other view than that of introducing the following *Note, Explanation, and Remarks.*

‘ *To Mr. COBBETT, Philadelphia.*

‘ Doctor Priestley hopes Mr. Cobbett will do him the justice to insert the enclosed in his newspaper.

‘ *Northumberland, Sept. 4, 1798.*

‘ SIR, ‘

‘ I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to give what satisfaction I can to many persons in this country, who seem to be alarmed at the publication of an intercepted letter, addressed to me by Mr. J. Stone at Paris, and inclosing another, which I was to transmit to M. B. P. (which means a member of the British parliament) at Kennebeck. They were first printed in England, *with a view to render me obnoxious here.* Whether they ought to have this effect, let any impartial person judge from the following circumstances.

‘ Mr. John Stone *was a member of my congregation at Hackney, and a zealous friend of the American and French revolutions*, which sufficiently accounts for his corresponding with me. But *I am not answerable for what he, or any other person, may think proper to write to me.*

‘ The letter inclosed to me is for Mr. BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, formerly a *pupil of mine*, and son to Mr. Samuel Vaughan, who some time ago resided in Philadelphia. He, like me, *thought it necessary to leave England*, and for some time is said to have assumed a feigned name. This he does not do here, and he is a man that any country may be proud to possess ; having, for ability, knowledge of almost every kind, and the most approved integrity, very few equals. He is *well known* to, and probably *corresponds with*, the PRESIDENT, who will smile at the surmises that have been thrown out on the subject. He has fixed his residence at Kennebeck, because his family has large property there. If he or I had been a spy in the interest of France, we have made a very strange choice of situations in which to do mischief.

———“ But trifles light as air,
“ Are to the jealous confirmations strong,
“ As proofs of holy writ.”—

‘ I am, &c.

‘ JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.’

Before I begin my remarks, I must not forget to caution the reader against ascribing it to any respect which I entertain for Doctor Priestley, for whom I thus early take occasion to avow my most unqualified contempt ; and this I do, lest, by inadvertence, I should let fall any thing resembling that affected civility, which has lessened the force of
too

too many well-meant publications, and which partakes too much of the cool, placid, Priestlean cant, to find an imitator in me, or in any man who feels a becoming zeal in the cause of his country, and who scorns to make a cowardly compromise with malice and with treason.*

The Doctor begins his explanation by allowing, that the publicity of the intercepted letters has "*alarmed*" many persons in America. He afterwards admits that he is suspected as "a spy in the service of France;" and, in consequence of this, he very obligingly comes forward a volunteer, to give what satisfaction he can on the subject; or, more properly speaking, he endeavours to remove the dangerous impression against himself, which he perceives the discovery has produced.

In what degree the people of the United States are *alarmed*, or ought in any case, to be alarmed, at the suspected treachery of a miserable though perverse old man, I shall not pretend to determine; but, if the reader will lend me his patience through a few pages, I pledge myself to prove, that whatever suspicion or alarms the intercepted letters were, in themselves, calculated to excite, it ought by no means to be diminished by the "*satisfaction*" which the Doctor has vainly attempted to give.

But, before I enter on the explanation itself, I shall bestow a minute or two on an insinuation, with which the cunning Sectary has thought proper to preface it, respecting the *motives* from which the

* "I love the bold uncompromising mind,
 " Whose principles are fix'd, whose views defin'd;
 " Who owns, when traitors feel th' avenging rod,
 " Just retribution, and the hand of God:
 " Who hears the groans through *Olmutz* roofs that ring,
 " Of him who chain'd and who betray'd his king."

letters were made public. His words are these :
“ They [the Letters of Stone] were first published
“ in England, *with a view to render me obnoxious*
“ HERE.”

No great degree of sagacity is requisite to enable us to discover the object of this despicable complaint. The *authenticity* of the intercepted letters was too well established to be shaken by any denial of his: no equivocation, no subterfuge, would, on this score, have answered the least purpose; and he, therefore, was driven to avail himself of a misrepresentation of the views from which they were made public. Unable to contradict the fact, to deny the truth of the testimony against him, he endeavours to deaden its effect by complaining of the hard-heartedness of his accuser: conscious that the justice of the public must condemn him, he has the meanness to appeal to their compassion.

That this complaint is, however, wholly groundless, that the Letters of Stone were not published in England with a view to render him odious, here or any where else, is very evident from the *Preface* and the *Notes* of the English publisher; in which, those parts of the letters relative to America, though peculiarly inviting to the Commentator, are suffered to pass almost entirely unnoticed: and as to himself, he is mentioned but once, when he is thought worthy of nothing more than a sneer of contempt.

The fact is, the Doctor has too high an opinion of his own merits. He imagines himself a much more dangerous and dreaded pest than he really is. The people of England, if I have any knowledge of their sentiments, care nothing about him or his plots. They know, indeed, that he is a political viper; but they also know, that, with regard to them and their country, he is a viper without a sting:

sting: and, as to what mischief he may do here or elsewhere, it cannot be believed but they must be extremely indifferent. If America is destined to suffer from his machinations, on the Americans will lie all the blame. During many, many years, previous to his emigration, every art was made use of by individuals, by societies, and even by several of the legislatures, to gather together on these shores all the discontented from under every government in Europe. When the hospitable host is betrayed by the stranger, whom, without any views of interest, he has received under his roof, and seated at his table, every noble feeling of the heart is roused in his cause; but, very different indeed is the effect, when we hear a people complain of the treachery of those, whom they have *invited*, nay *inveigled*, not to say *seduced*, from their *duty* and their *homes*.

But, to return to the Doctor's complaint; allowing the publishers of the Intercepted Letters to have been aware, that the publication of them would render him obnoxious in America; and even allowing these publishers to be, as he hints, the British government: Yet, what reason has he to complain? The British government is the guardian of the interest and honour of the British nation, and is, whatever he and his traitorous correspondent may say to the contrary, the organ by which the people express their sentiments on every national concern. And whence, pray, does the Doctor presume that *he*, above all men living, ought to expect favour at the hands of that people? What has he done to merit their commiseration or their mercy? What truth, injurious to their reputation, did he ever suppress? And when did he miss an opportunity of endeavouring to render them the hate and the scorn of the universe?

That

That his whole political life has been a continued series of hostile attempts against the tranquillity, happiness, and national character of Britons, need not, at this day, be asserted. It was the notoriety of this fact, which procured him the "*affectionate farewell*" of those sons of brutality and treason, the *United Irishmen*, and the "*affectionate welcome*" of the no less brutal and perfidious *Democrats of America*. As, however, it is possible that these remarks may fall into the hands of some persons, who are not acquainted with all the divers stages of his seditious career, I shall introduce an instance or two of the implacable malice, which he has discovered against the British nation, since his emigration to America; and, for doing this, my being myself a Briton, will, I am sure, be a sufficient apology.

The Preface to his farewell Hackney Sermon, which was evidently intended as an appeal from the people of England to the people of America (or rather from the impartial judgment of the former to the prejudices of the latter), and which he took good care to publish, and to distribute in great profusion, immediately upon his arrival at Philadelphia, is a most malignant libel on the whole British nation. The king is represented as a despot; their legislators as corrupt; their clergy as idolatrous, bigoted, and persecuting; their judges as unmerciful and partial; their juries as perjured; and the people at large, as ignorant, profligate, base and cruel.

His letter to a friend in England, which was published there in all the manufacturing towns, and which was evidently intended to be so published, in order to induce people to emigrate; that letter, of which every sentence, and every member of a sentence, is an abominable falsehood; that letter, which says, "here we have *no poor*," and which was
written

written at the very time that the writer was preaching "charity sermons," for the relief "of poor *Emigrants*," many of whom he, in this sermon, says, if not so relieved "*must perish*;" that letter I shall pass over at present, because I look upon it as a duty I owe to my countrymen to give it a separate and ample reply.

Neither shall I stop to remark on his echo to the calumnies contained in the New-York addresses; because, though abundantly wicked, it was in some measure drawn from him by the only persons from whom he ever received a cordial reception on this side of the Atlantic. But, the same excuse (if indeed, it ought to be admitted as one) cannot be offered in defence of his malicious "*Charity Sermon for the relief of poor Emigrants*." In this Sermon, as it is called, which is at once the most nonsensical and nefarious production that was ever snuffled forth from the tub of a conventicle, he *calls on the Americans to remember that their forefathers, if not they themselves, were PERSECUTED BY GREAT BRITAIN*; he reminds them of their *victorious endeavours in their LATE HARD STRUGGLE AGAINST that nation*: he tells them the poor *Emigrants*, though at a distance, *PRAYED for their success, and CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS IT IN VARIOUS OTHER WAYS*; and finally he tells them, that these poor *Emigrants* ARE NOW PERSECUTED AND DRIVEN FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FOR HAVING BEEN FRIENDS TO THE AMERICAN CAUSE, and that even wishing well to the LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA IS A CRIME THAT GREAT BRITAIN WILL NEVER FORGIVE.

Atrociously false as this statement is, its falsehood is lost in its poisonous malignity. It is im-

* When I say the Doctor's statement is false, I only mean, as far as it relates to the conduct and disposition of Great Britain. That

possible to form a conception of any thing more expressive of a black and rancorous heart, than this attempt to revive the ill-grounded and disgraceful hatred, too long entertained by the Americans, against a nation from whom they are descended ; from whom they derive their language, and whatsoever else they possess of excellence in their manners, their customs, their laws and their religion ; to whom they owe the foundation of their prosperity and their greatness ; to whose glorious deeds they are indebted for their present tranquillity and safety, and on whose fate (in spite of the suggestions of fools and traitors) their freedom and independence must finally depend. To revive and perpetuate animosities between millions of men, whose happiness, on a national scale, entirely depends on their mutual friendship, must, from whatever motive arising, and by whatever means attempted, be regarded as supremely wicked and detestable : where, then, shall we find language to express our abhorrence of the vindictive, unnatural, and hypocritical wretch, who makes the Satan-like attempt from hatred to his native country, and who profanes the tender and sacred name of *Charity*, by

That the Doctor and his brethren *contributed* as far as lay in their power towards the success of the American revolt, I have not the temerity to deny, or the stupidity to doubt. Yes, the whole SECT ; whether doctors of law, physick, or divinity ; whether poets, historians, or criticks, were all hearty in the cause. One *Smith* of Philadelphia, some time ago, attempted a regular republication of the *Monthly Review Enlarged*. In order to induce people to subscribe to his work, he stated in his proposals, that his *Review* was *decidedly opposed* to the *British system in church and state*, that it was conducted by *republicans*, and had *eminently contributed towards the success of the American revolution*. I gave *Smith's* republication a slight *Kick*, and down it went. This very attempt is forgotten ; but it is not amiss that we remember his *encomiums* on the *Monthly Review*.

using

using it as a cover to his cool and premeditated revenge?

Though justice, even towards such a man, ought to be tempered with mercy; and, though *real* charity ought to induce us to forgive him, as we pray to be forgiven; yet, I presume, from no consideration whatsoever, ought we to condescend to regard his character, tranquillity and happiness, as more precious than the character, tranquillity and happiness of ourselves, and our country. It is, however, precisely this degree of condescension, which he, after all the proofs of his malignity towards them, has the modesty to exact at the hands of the British nation! This nation, whom he had so laboured to injure and defame, seized on a certain traitorous correspondence, which was eminently calculated to expose the impious principles and destructive projects of their internal and external enemies. Interest, duty, even self-preservation, called on them to publish this correspondence to the world; but this forcible call they were totally to disregard, because the Intercepted Letters happened to be addressed to *him!!!*—To the *authenticity* of the letters he has not a word to oppose: the only objectionable circumstance, is, they were calculated to render *him* obnoxious, and, on that account alone, he has the assurance to insinuate, that they *ought to have been suppressed!* The British nation (for I persist in looking upon government and people as one) were not only to wink at detected treason, but were to become traitors to themselves, their posterity, and their God; and all this, rather than run the mighty risk of rendering *him* obnoxious; *Him!* who for these twenty years past, has even sacrificed his interest, his peace, and his reputation, to the pleasure of injuring, insulting, and reviling them; and who, to this very hour, and at this distance, pursues them with all the craft of a sectary joined to the hatred and malice of a fiend!

So much for the Doctor's *complaint*. I shall now examine the "*circumstances*," which he seems to think ought to prevent the Intercepted Letter from rendering him obnoxious *here*.

The first of these circumstances relate to Stone. "*He was*," says Priestley, "*a member of my congregation at Hackney, and a zealous friend of the American and French Revolution, WHICH SUFFICIENTLY ACCOUNTS FOR HIS CORRESPONDING WITH ME.*"

Granted, Doctor. I not only allow, that *Stone's being a member of your congregation* sufficiently accounts for his holding a traiterous correspondence with you; but I also allow, that it accounts in the most satisfactory manner *for his becoming a traitor*. This "*circumstance*" must convince the few who yet doubt on the subject, that your conventicle at Hackney was a most convenient and successful school for treason; but how it can possibly tend to remove the suspicion of *your* being a spy or a traitor, or both, I cannot conceive. It is the duty of teachers to walk according to precepts which they give to others; and, it cannot be believed, that such a *conscientious* man as you have forsaken the path, though rugged and dark, in which you conducted your flock, and through which Citizen Stone has arrived at the nethermost hell of Democracy.

But, besides Stone's being one of the Doctor's congregation, he was a zealous friend of the American and French revolutions; and this is, it seems, another circumstance, which accounts for his corresponding with the Doctor.—Poor, silly reason! Reader, do you not know hundreds and thousands of persons, who, like yourself, are enemies to the French revolution; Yes, and yet I dare engage, that that circumstance never led you into a correspondence with any one of them. Indeed, this excuse

cuse is so very puerile and absurd, that I should have thought it unworthy of notice, had I not thought it necessary to remark on it in another point of view.

The circumstance was not intended as *an excuse for the correspondence*. It was dragged in as one of those little baits for popularity, which are in constant use amongst all the renegadoes from Great Britain and Ireland; a base method of paying their court to the people of America, and one to which every man, who has a drop of true blood in his heart, scorns to have recourse. In stating this circumstance, the Doctor indirectly reminds the Americans of *his own merits* as one of those who secretly aided their cause during the contest between them and the mother country; which, while it proves him to have been unfaithful to his native country, will not, I assure him, serve as a set-off to his correspondence with Stone. If the public papers and the arts of land-jobbers have invited traitors to the country, the people have, on their arrival, uniformly treated them with every mark of abhorrence; and it is a well-known truth, that, of the vast horde who have fled hither since the beginning of the French revolution, not one has met with confidence or encouragement*.

* *Reynolds*, the seditious United Irishman, who was obliged to fly from Ireland to save his neck, now stands prosecuted for a libel on the American Secretary of State. Go where he will, still he must be a malecontent. He is, however, now reduced so low, that no one will associate with him, except he be of the very dregs of the mob. He called himself Doctor for some time; but the title has been laid aside, as of no use. This wretch, in his passage to America, guillotined the king in effigy.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan makes spruce beer, and drives it about for sale in a wheelbarrow. He lives in the borough of Wilmington.

I shall stop here to make an observation, the subject of which has, I dare say, often occurred to the Doctor on his pillow, and which ought to be very well attended to by the whole of the British nation: and that is, that all the revolutionists, while they are endeavouring to excite the people of Great Britain and Ireland to revolt against the government, profess great fidelity to their country and *loyalty to their king*. They pretend to have nothing in view but “the good, the honour, the *permanent* glory of the Empire.” They propose “to amend and not destroy;” to make the people *truly happy*, and “His Gracious Majesty *truly great*.” With cant like this Priestley played his part during the American war. Never did he tell the people, that he wished to see thirteen flourishing colonies lopped off from the king’s dominions; but now, behold, he not only acknowledges that he wished

Daniel Isaac Eaton, of hog’s-wash memory, was quite bold on his first arrival. He advertised pamphlets for sale by “*Daniel Isaac Eaton, six times tried for sedition*;” but the *Alien law* soon made him withdraw both his advertisement and himself from the notice of the public. He some time ago lived in a log-hut over Schuylkill, where he cohabited with an Indian squaw. The proprietor of the hut, finding what gentry he had got for tenants, turned them out bag and baggage. I happened to be going out on a shooting party, when the miscreant and his yellowed hided frow were coming into Camp-town, tramping through the dirt. “And is that,” thought I, “the “*PRINTER TO HIS MAJESTY, THE PEOPLE!*”—He has brought his *hogs* to a fine market!

Citizen Lee first attempted a magazine, then a book, and then he tried what could be got by travelling; and he is, at last, comfortably lodged in *New-York jail*.

Poor Merry (whom, however, I do not class with such villains as the above), died about three months ago, just as he was about to finish a treatise on the justice of the *Agrarian system*. He was never noticed in America; he pined away in obscurity. The people here have, thank Heaven, no taste for the Della Cruscan poetry or politics.

to

to see this, but he boasts of those wishes, and calls upon the Americans to reward him and his associates for the *prayers*, and various other *assistance* which they lent them during their struggle for *independence*! So *Reynolds* and the *United Irishmen*: their modest desires extended no further than *Catholic Emancipation* and *Parliamentary Reform*. You cannot dip into their proceedings without meeting with a solemn declaration of their having “no design to change the form or nature of the government,” and a solemn protestation of their “affection for the person of his *Gracious Majesty*” and his illustrious family.” But, what is their language on this side of the sea? Having gathered together their branded and scattered crew, the first thing they require of each, is, to declare that “His Gracious Majesty” is a tyrant; that Ireland ought to shake off his yoke, and become an independent republic; and in this they swear to do all in their power to assist her! Just such, too, are the views of the *Whig Club* and *Corresponding Society*. Their stalking-horse is *Reform*, but their real object is the overthrow of the monarchy; a scramble for power and riches: and this intention, should they succeed, they will boast of with as unblushing a front as Lauderdale’s friend, Brissot, and his gang, after they had made the exciting of the insurrection of the 10th of August one of the crimes for which they put their Sovereign to death, *boasted of having excited the insurrection themselves*! This is one of the blackest deeds in the annals of republican France; but, let the people of Great Britain be assured, that, instead of abhorrence, it has served to awaken emulation in the minds of the degraded and desperate faction, who have still the hypocrisy to bellow for *Reform*.

From this digression I return to the Doctor’s explanation, and to the unconcern with which he dis-

misses his friend Stone. Notwithstanding this vile miscreant was one of his flock (or rather *herd*) at Hackney ; notwithstanding his revolutionary turn of mind was a merit quite sufficient to recommend him to the Doctor as a correspondent ; and notwithstanding he writes as to a brother in iniquity, the Doctor has the effrontery to say—“ *But I am not answerable for what he, or any other person, may think proper to write to me.*”

Very true, most learned Jesuit ; it is obvious enough, that you could not prevent Stone, though your friend and penitent, from writing treason to you. We know very well, that the letters are not sufficient to hang you. But, because such a defence would save your neck before a judge, administering justice according to laws, which are so tender of the life of even the most murderous of villains, do you imagine that it will save, or that it ought to save your reputation before the tribunal of the public ?

I cannot help remarking here on the strict resemblance between the Doctor's explanation, and the Vindication of Randolph, on an occasion somewhat similar. Randolph began by a complaint against General Washington, for not keeping Fauchet's Intercepted Letters a secret from all the world, and this he followed up, like the Doctor, with asserting, with a great deal of truth, that *he could not help what Citizen Fauchet chose to write.* To this *Misslin* and *Dallas* cried, *Amen !*

But what said the public to this laconic exculpation ? They said, that *there must be something of truth in what the Frenchman had written*, for that mere invention never could have furnished him with a chain of facts so probable and so connected ; and they now say, with respect to the letters of the traitor Stone, that they never would have been addressed to one, whose sentiments the writer was not well assured

assured were in perfect unison with those he expressed, whose secrecy he could not depend on, and, in short, whose treasonable disposition he was not thoroughly convinced was every way equal to his own.

When traitors feel a call to congregate (whether at Hackney or any where else), though they know each other to be such, neither of them does, all at once, open his mind to another. They begin by dark hints, equivocal expressions, and half jokes, till, by degrees, they come to an explicit avowal of their hellish principles and designs; then they throw off all reserve. They speak and write to each other in the true traitor style; and in that stile it is that Stone writes to Priestley. His manner is as free as his sentiments are foul: the former proves that the Doctor possesses his confidence, and the latter proves him to be worthy of it.

Nor is it true, in an unqualified sense, that Priestley is *not answerable* for the contents of these letters. It is, indeed, true, that he could not help Stone's addressing his wicked sentiments to him; for the wretch might have addressed them to me, or to any of my friends; but, though I could not have prevented his doing this, and, of course, should not have looked upon myself as answerable for it; yet I should certainly have been answerable for his sentiments, unless I had used my utmost exertions to expose them, if the letter had come to hand; or (if they had been intercepted and published) unless I had publicly disclaimed the villain's friendship, and disavowed his sentiments, which Priestley has been very careful not to do.

Had he been the inoffensive man he wishes to appear; had he not approved of the sentiments of his miscreant correspondent, I appeal to any honest man, whether, instead of taking shelter under a miserable subterfuge, he would not have come for-

ward with a declaration something like this :—" 'Tis
" true, Stone and I have lived in habits of intimacy,
" and even friendship, for many years, which suf-
" ficiently accounts for his writing to me ; but, as
" to the profligate and derestable sentiments con-
" tained in his Intercepted Letter, and particularly
" those relative to America, I not only disavow,
" but I most unequivocally express my abhorrence
" of them ; and I am astonished that the villain
" should dare, in such an unreserved manner, to
" communicate them to me, who had assuredly
" never given him the least encouragement to
" make me the confident of his profligacy or his
" treason."

Confident, as every one must be, that such a declaration would have gone very far towards removing the suspicions, which the Intercepted Letters had excited respecting the Doctor, it may, to some persons, seem matter of wonder, that he did not, though it would have been a falsehood, make use of it ; and, I am aware that many will be ready to conclude, that, if this act of self denial does not prove his innocence as to the charge of being a spy, it, at least, proves his *inviolable attachment to truth* ; since he scorns to disclaim his connections, or belie his sentiments, even when reputation and every thing else are at stake.

There is something in inflexible consistency, which, even in traitors, men are apt to admire ; but those who ascribe this inflexibility to the Doctor in the present instance, forget, or are totally ignorant of, the peculiar circumstances in which he is placed.

Amongst the innumerable horde of malecontents, whom a covetous and short sighted policy has encouraged to crowd to these States, no one ever experienced disappointment equal to this ambitious Sectary. He expected to be hailed from afar, to be met with acclamations of joy, to be led from
caress

caress to caress; to be revered, consulted, and obeyed; in short, to be loaded with favours and with honours, without measure, and without end. Alas! how soon he was undeceived! *Welcomed* indeed he was; but he was not so far blinded by his self-conceit as not to perceive that his *welcomers* consisted of no more than two or three clubs, the members of which were, if possible, more despicable than the British and Irish conspirators, whose "affectionate farewell" had served him as a passport of civism to these shores of liberty.

There were, amongst the American clergy, men whose sentiments perfectly agreed with those of the Doctor; but they dared not show him the countenance he expected. He found all the pulpits barred against him, with as much caution as they could have been against Satan himself; and, when he was at last seen haranguing from the tottering stage in that shabby-looking shell, called the Universalist's Church, he had the mortification to reflect, that he was only permitted to hold forth, as mountebanks and other diverting mendicants are, on condition of giving up a share of the pence which he was able to draw out of the pockets of his hearers.

He did not, as he pretended, *retire* to Northumberland. The swamps and rocks which he calls *land*, and the shed which he dignifies with the name of *house*, were not a voluntary retreat from the fatiguing attention and applause of the city, but a *refuge* from its almost unanimous contempt.

Thus fallen to a state from which he must look upward with inexpressible shame and anguish, it was not to be expected that so restless a spirit would remain in contentment. Accordingly, every part of his conduct, every thing we see or hear of him, tends to prove, that he waits with the utmost impatience, for an opportunity of exchanging this embarrassed and degraded situation for one better

adapted to his necessities, and more gratifying to his ambition; that he regards this country as a temporary resting place, and that, for patrons, and for a home, for future consequence, and future subsistence, he looks to the republic of France.*

If, then, he be thus circumstanced (as I think nobody in America will deny he is), his forbearing to justify himself, by expressing his abhorrence of the sentiments of Stone, and of the conduct of his despotic employers, can no longer appear wonderful. Instead of ascribing his forbearance to *candour*, *consistency*, or an *unshaken adherence to truth*, we ought to ascribe it, 'first, to a well-grounded fear of offending the *humane* and *enlightened* patrons, on whom he depends as the only remaining anchor of his shattered fortune and fame; and, secondly, to an apprehension of rousing the resentment of the rancorous traitor Stone, who, by way of revenge for his pusillanimous defection, would undoubtedly have produced *other parts of the correspondence* between him and his ghostly confessor, which might, perhaps, have changed *presumptive* into *positive* proof.

* His son *Joseph*, but a few days ago, told a gentleman in this city, that his father thought of leaving the country in a very little time. He said he *did not like it*; *it was not fit for him to live in*.

The Doctor, is, on all occasions, the defender of the French revolution. A gentleman told him, a little while ago, that, "*to defend that event, after having been a witness of its consequences, he must either be a FOOL or a KNAVE.*" I think he is *both*; and I think very little can be said in defence of those who admit him into the circle of their acquaintance.

In all Priestley's writings, he takes special care to let people know, that he is a *Citizen of France*. Though he wrangles like a dog with *Volney*, he tells him, he is glad to be able to embrace him cordially as a *fellow Citizen of France*. He might, I believe, have embraced him with full as much propriety as a *brother, spy*.

From

From these weighty considerations, and not from his aversion to falsehood, he has evaded all attempt at justification on this head, under the pitiful, though plausible pretext, that he is NOT ANSWERABLE for what Stone or any other person may think proper to write to him, choosing rather to run the risk of being still regarded as a "spy in the interest of France," than to incur the certain displeasure of his patrons at Paris, and the no less certain vengeance of his friend and disciple.

As the Doctor could not help Stone's writing treason to him, it follows of course, that he could not help his enclosing a letter for Citizen M. B. P.

These three letters, the Doctor confesses, were made use of by Stone to designate a person, whom he speaks of as *his*, the Doctor's and Talleyrand's friend, and whom he understood to be, at the time of his writing, "*secreted at Kennebeck.*" I might here stop to observe, that this way of speaking in initials, proves, that the Doctor must have received letters from Stone before on the same subject. As Othello says, "it notes a foregone conclusion;" but, since he could not help Stone's writing an ill-fated letter that was intercepted, it is obvious that he could not help his writing others that were not intercepted.

The mysterious hints concerning M. B. P., the circumstance of his being *secreted*, and his connection with Talleyrand, were well calculated to excite a suspicion of his being a spy, or, at least, a mischievous agent of some sort, in the service of France; and we have now to examine whether this suspicion ought to be weakened by the Doctor's explanation of the matter.

This *secreted* person to whom Stone refers Priestley as a counsellor, respecting the time when he shall leave America, the Doctor tells us, is "Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, son of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, who

“ who sometime ago resided at Philadelphia.” I shall leave this eulogium on this skulking correspondent of Stone and Talleyrand to be commented upon by the reader, and shall enquire a little further into his pedigree than his eulogist seems to wish to go. If, in this inquiry, any thing should arise disagreeable to the Vaughans, they must attribute it to their officious friend, by whom it was provoked.

The Doctor says true, I believe, that Benjamin Vaughan is the son of Samuel Vaughan, formerly an emigrant from England to Philadelphia, where he some time resided. But, Doctor, could you not have told us a little more about this worthy progenitor of the secreted M. B. P. who *thought it necessary* to leave England, and to *assume a feigned name*? Could you, I say, have related no honourable anecdote about the reverend old Samuel, that might have heightened our esteem for him? Since you have not done it, I will.

In the year 1765, this yery Samuel Vaughan attempted to bribe the Duke of Grafton, in order to obtain a lucrative post for this “most excellent” son. He was repulsed by the Duke, threatened with a prosecution, and immediately (as it were by interest) commenced his career as a *Patriot*, a *Bill-of-Rights-Man*, a *Whig*, and a *Parliamentary Reformer*.

At the close of the American war, this immaculate gentleman came to Philadelphia, where he was guilty of an act of impious buffoonery, which the general delirium of the times, and the contemptibleness of the actor, tended to bury in oblivion, but which always ought to be revived, when any one is impudent enough to speak of him with respect.

It was on a day of parade of some kind; GENERAL WASHINGTON was passing through the
street

street on horseback, followed by an immense crowd, when Vaughan happened to set eyes upon him for the first time. The moment the General approached the place where he stood, Vaughan, totally regardless of the crowd by which he was surrounded, fell upon his knees, and, lifting up his hands and eyes toward Heaven, exclaimed with a loud voice, in the words of the holy Simeon; "*Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!*" This salvation of the Lord was neither more nor less than a man, who had been the chief instrument in cutting off the right arm of the nation, in which the sham prophet was born, to which he still owed allegiance, and the good of which he had constantly pretended was the sole object of his political pursuits!

The remainder of this man's history is short. He expected like Priestley, that proclaiming himself "a friend to the American revolution" would insure him respect and reward; like Priestley he was disappointed, neglected, and despised; and he at last left the country in dudgeon, just as Priestley will, the moment he can do it with a prospect of living elsewhere in safety and in ease.

So much for the ancestor of M. B. P. who, if this letter should ever fall into his hands, will certainly not thank the Doctor for dragging him forth from obscurity. Let us now return to the son, whose great abilities, knowledge, and *integrity*, the Doctor boasts of, and whom he says, "any country may *be proud to possess.*"

By Priestley's manner of expressing himself one might be led to suppose Vaughan a member of the British parliament, *at this time*: this is not, however, the case. He *was* a member of that assembly previous to the last general election. And the Doctor should have told us, *how he gained admittance there.* It was not, he well knows, by the free
voice

voice of *any part of the people* of Great Britain. He was not chosen by the free men of a county, of a city, or of an open independent borough; but was thrust in by the influence of the Marquis of Lansdown, under whose roof the Doctor and his Hackney predecessor were lodged and fed. He owed his seat to one of those very patronised boroughs, about which *he* and Priestley, and Price, and Stone, and Fox, and Paine, and Grey, and the Sheares's, and the O'Connor's have kept up such a loud and incessant clamour! His acceptance of such a seat was an act of patriotism very little inferior to that of his patriotic father, who, in his zeal for the public good, in his eagerness to apply the great abilities and integrity of his son to the service of his dear country, nobly threw aside every selfish consideration, and—*tendered a bribe to the minister of state!*

There must be something extremely pliant and commodious in the conscience of a *sectarian reformer*, TYTHES were an abominable grievance, but the Doctor had no objection to their being still exacted, *provided he were admitted to participate*. Bribery, and corruption, and rotten boroughs were all execrable with his *pupil* Vaughan; but they were quite proper, as the means of obtaining him a sinecure and a seat in parliament. Hudibras's puritan 'Squire (who, by the by, would have made a charming preacher at Hackney) has very logically proved that *whores* and *dice* are the exclusive property of the *Saints*, and are (he should have said, *in part*,) unjustly detained from them by the wicked. This is the prototype of the Unitarian creed. Every thing, of which they can (no matter how) engross the possession or the controul, is allowable, and praise-worthy, and excellent. The oppression of tythes is done away by their reception; from their lips perjury is a pious fraud; when they conspire
against

against the state, it is a proof of their fidelity; a bible becomes purified by passing through their hallowed fingers, and a rotten seat in parliament is made as sound as heart of oak, by coming in contract with their sanctified sans-culottes.

Never was the Doctor more hampered than in framing an explanation of these unfortunately Intercepted Letters. His talents at equivocation are such as reflect infinite honour on his sect; but to such a dilemma was he reduced, that it was impossible to advance any thing in his vindication, which must not, upon examination, make against him. Some excuse he was compelled to give, for the unlimited confidence reposed in him by Stone and Vaughan, other than the mere relationship between them as brother traitors to Great Britain, which he well knew, would, *just at this moment*, have been rather unpopular; and, therefore, to carry the origin of his connection as far back as possible, he tells us that the former was one of his *flock*, and the latter was one of his *pupils*. But, in saying this, he was not aware that he communicated a very valuable fact to the public, who will be able, from the sentiments, connections, and conduct of these men, to form a very correct opinion of the political, moral, and religious principles, inculcated in the conventicle and seminary at Hackney; and the Doctor will have the honour of being known and acknowledged as the *preceptor* of a secreted renegade passing under a feigned name, and as the *pastor* of the most execrable traitor, and most infamous miscreant, of even this base, treacherous, and impious age.

From the "parentage and education" (to speak in the Tyburn stile) of his *secreted pupil*, M. B. P. *alias* Benjamin Vaughan, I now come to his *Emigration* from England. The Doctor says, "He, like me, THOUGHT IT NECESSARY to leave England."

“land.” This sentence I, for my own part, perfectly understand; but as it was intended for the public at large, he should have subjoined its various significations. “*Thought it necessary to leave England,*” means, *was forced to leave, or fled from, or ran away from, or escaped from* England. It was in this sense that Rowan, Tandy, Reynolds, and Cary, “*thought it necessary to leave*” Ireland, and that citizen Lee, who, like a true sans-culotte, slipped out of Newgate in petticoats; and Calender, who eloped from the catchpoles, “*thought it necessary to leave England;*” but, I do not know that even any of these ever thought it necessary to *secrete* themselves in America, or to assume a *feigned name*.

If, in the place of this paltry attempt to disguise the truth, he had honestly told the public, *when*, and on what account, his pupil “thought it necessary to leave England,” he would have saved me the trouble of writing a paragraph or two on a very villainous subject.

“He, *like me*, thought it necessary to leave England.”

What does this mean? From it are we not to infer, that he and the Doctor left England under similar circumstances, and from similar motives? Is not this the natural inference? Did the writer not wish by this sentence to make the people believe, that Vaughan was an oppressed and persecuted man, and that, like Priestley, he fled to *America*, as to an asylum “from the *rude arm of violence*, “from the *rod of lawless power*: from *barbarian fury* that put even life itself in danger?” Did he not wish, I say, to cause this lying cant of his democratic addresses to be revived and applied to the emigration of his friend and pupil? Most certainly he did; his words cannot possibly admit of any other construction. Now, then, Doctor, listen to
a true,

a true, unsophisticated tale; and when you have heard to the end, hide your head for ever; go to Kennebeck, assume a feigned name, and take shelter under the same roof with your secreted pupil.

John H. Stone, the writer of the infamous Intercepted Letters, went to *France* at an early period of the revolution. He had a brother named William, a coal-merchant in London. On the 29th of January, 1796, this brother William was tried for *High Treason* before Lord Kenyon, in Westminster Hall, and the following is the substance of the printed report of that trial.

‘ The prisoner, WILLIAM STONE, was charged
 ‘ with two species of treason; the first, with com-
 ‘ passing and imagining the king’s death; and the
 ‘ second, with conspiring with JOHN H. STONE,
 ‘ his brother, and with a person named WILLIAM
 ‘ JACKSON. It was given in evidence, that the
 ‘ French government had employed John H. Stone
 ‘ and Jackson, to gain such intelligence of the si-
 ‘ tuation of Great Britain and Ireland as might
 ‘ enable them to judge of the expediency of an in-
 ‘ vasion. The connection between these two per-
 ‘ sons and William Stone, the prisoner, was placed
 ‘ beyond the possibility of a doubt. The former
 ‘ was his brother, already become a domiciliated
 ‘ Frenchman, and whom he knew to be in the con-
 ‘ fidence and interest of the French government;
 ‘ the latter had been, to the knowledge of the pri-
 ‘ soner, sent over to England by John H. Stone,
 ‘ for the purpose of acquiring intelligence; and,
 ‘ notwithstanding the prisoner was fully aware
 ‘ of Jackson’s mission, he nevertheless, though a
 ‘ British subject, had held correspondence with,
 ‘ and assisted him in making enquiry how the
 ‘ kingdom might most successfully be invaded, or
 ‘ if it would be for the interest of the French go-
 ‘ vernment

' vernment to make any invasion whatever.—In the
 ' course of their correspondence, it appeared, that
 ' a great deal was said concerning a certain family
 ' at Shields; all which, though seemingly inno-
 ' cent, was an ingenious invention to convey a
 ' double meaning, and, under these symbols and
 ' allegories, the real business was mysteriously con-
 ' cealed.—It appeared too, that John H. Stone had
 ' repeatedly recommended Jackson to his brother,
 ' the prisoner, as his confidential friend, conse-
 ' quently an immediate connection and correspon-
 ' dence took place between Jackson and the priso-
 ' ner, and the former was furnished by the latter
 ' with money to effect his purposes. Their cor-
 ' respondence was carried on under *feigned names*.
 ' John. H. Stone's letters were signed *Benjamin*
 ' *Beresford*; Jackson's were signed *Thomas Popkins*,
 ' and William Stone's were signed by his own
 ' name reversed, *William Enols*.—In the begin-
 ' ning of the year 1794 fifteen ships were lost to
 ' the country, in consequence of intelligence, sup-
 ' posed to have been conveyed through this chan-
 ' nel to the enemy.—Jackson, during this corres-
 ' pondence, was in Ireland, whither he went to exe-
 ' cute his part of the traitorous plan, which was,
 ' to procure such intelligence of the situation of
 ' Ireland, and of the disposition of the people, as
 ' would best enable the French government the
 ' more effectually to plan the invasion and reduc-
 ' tion of that country. Jackson (previous to the
 ' trial of Stone) was tried, in Ireland, for high
 ' treason, and *convicted*; but he poisoned himself
 ' before sentence was pronounced on him.—In
 ' the course of the trial *certain papers* were pro-
 ' duced in evidence.

[Now for Monsieur M. B. P.]

" One of the papers read was written by BEN-
 " JAMIN VAUGHAN, member of parliament
 " for

“ for CALNE, and had been given by him to the
 “ prisoner. It appeared to be written with the
 “ view to describe the temper and opinions of the
 “ people of Great Britain, respecting the threaten-
 “ ed invasion of the French, and purported to
 “ show the improbability there was of any such
 “ measure succeeding, at that time, from a variety
 “ of causes; and that, from the disposition of the
 “ people, which had been clearly indicated in se-
 “ veral instances, there was every reason to appre-
 “ hend, that such an attempt would prove abor-
 “ tive. The paper concluded with observing, that
 “ it would be EXPEDIENT for the French TO
 “ HOLD OUT FAIR AND MODERATE TERMS OF
 “ PEACE.”

It was after this rascal William Stone, was seized,
 and Vaughan's paper along with him, that the lat-
 ter “thought it necessary to leave England.” W.
 Stone told a tough story, and brought in Smith,
 Sheridan, Lauderdale, with some three or four sec-
 tarian priests, to corroborate what he said; in con-
 sequence of which a deceived Jury brought in a
 verdict NOT GUILTY. It was said, that, though
 John H. Stone was clearly proved to be a traitor,
 his brother might not be one. He, it was said, as
 well as *Vaughan*, were (poor innocent souls!) only
 endeavouring to *persuade* the French not to injure
 Great Britain!!! But what must have been the
 vexation of the duped Jury, when they found,
 soon after, that both these good creatures were
 safely arrived at Paris!

Had M. B. P. *alias* Benjamin Vaughan, remained
 calmly in England, after the seizure of his papers,
 or had he “thought it necessary to leave England”
 for America, we might have supposed it possible
 that he was innocent, and that the intelligence,
 found in his hand-writing, and destined for the use
 of the French, was obtained from him by decep-
 tion: we might, in short, have thought him the

dupe, rather than the accomplice, of Jackson and the two miscreant brothers. But, when we know that he went from England to *Paris*; when we behold him seeking safety in the bosom of that enemy, against whom it was pretended, he wished to defend his country; when we see him in the closest connection with the traitor Stone, the spy Gallois, and the minister Talleyrand; when all these indubitable, concurrent, and striking facts stare us in the face, we are not, like a Westminster Jury, to be cozened out of our conviction by a miserable Unitarian subterfuge.

Having thus traced the Hackney pupil to his home, the Republic of France, where he was so happily situated, under the mild and benignant government of Barras, and in the society of his 'dear friend' Stone, and the virtuous Citoyenne Williams; seeing him thus placed amidst the charms of liberty and equality, literature, philosophy, and love, I trust we ought not to be accused of impertinent curiosity, if we ask, What could induce him to think it necessary to leave France, and why should we not still regard him as a spy in her service?

Why did he assume a *feigned name*? Was this ever done, but from some base or wicked motive? The word *alias* is frequently heard in courts of justice; highwaymen, pickpockets, deserters, traitors, and spies, often coin themselves a variety of names, as well as of occupations; but is this ever done by the honest man? Is it ever done by the innocent traveller? and, above all, is it ever done by a gentleman coming to sit peaceably down in his favourite country?

It has, I find, been said by the French faction, that Vaughan assumed a feigned name, in order to avoid being claimed by the British government, under the XXVIIIth article of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and not for any purpose hostile to the

the United States. But, the absurdity of this apology will at once be perceived, when it is recollected, that the treaty does not stipulate for the surrender of traitors (as it ought to have done), but for that of forgers and murderers only. No reason, therefore, existed for his disguising himself on this account, nor on any other than that of fear of detection by the people of America, and to fear such detection strongly argues the intention of committing some crime against the state; and when to this suspicious circumstance of the feigned name, we add the cause of his emigration to France, and his subsequent connection with Gallois, Talleyrand, and the traitor Stone, who writes so despitefully of the American government; what is there, I pray, in Priestley's explanation, to induce us to abandon the persuasion of his being an agent in the service of France?

Fully aware of the effect of so dark-looking a circumstance as that of a feigned name, the Doctor has gone as far as he could to invalidate the fact. He says of his pupil: "for some time, he is said to have assumed a feigned name; this he does not do *here*."—What a crafty, though simple-looking shift! It neither avows nor denies the fact of his having gone by a feigned name, previous to the publication of the Intercepted Letters, and yet it would leave the ignorant to believe, that he never did assume a feigned name in America. It is a true sectarian subterfuge; a lie in the words of truth, and is exactly of a piece with the cautious, placid, meek-sounding cant, that has ever been the distinguishing trait in the writing, of the subtle hypocrite, who now makes use of it.

What! in the name of all that is impudent, does he mean, by telling the people, that, '*it is said*' that Vaughan went under a feigned name? Do we not *know* it? Does not Stone tell us so? And

does not this villain address a letter to Priestley, in which he speaks of Vaughan under a feigned name? If he had not assumed a feigned name, why did not Stone call him by his real name? And, as to his not going by a feigned name *here*; if it was not *here*, where was it?—in Great Britain?—For what?—In France, where he was amongst his dear friends, Talleyrand, &c.?—It is nonsense to suppose such a thing. No, it is clear, it is certain, that he assumed a feigned name, that he assumed it *here*, and though it be impossible to determine exactly for *what purpose* it was assumed, no one will hesitate a moment to acknowledge, that *that purpose must be known to Priestley*; for, had he not known the meaning of M. B. P. he never could have explained that meaning to the public; and it is very improbable, indeed, that he should be in the secret of Vaughan's assuming a feigned name, without being well acquainted with the reasons for his doing it, and, of course, without being an accomplice in all his designs.

I do not pretend to point out (it is not necessary that I should point out) the precise nature of these designs; but when all the circumstances are considered, the flight of Vaughan for England, his connections at Paris, the sentiments contained in Stone's letter, and, above all, the feigned name, it is impossible not to believe, that the intentions of the parties concerned, were dishonourable, if not hostile to the internal peace and safety of the United States.

Priestley plainly perceived, that the publishing of the Intercepted Letters must produce this persuasion in every mind, and he seems to have been pretty certain, that his subterfuges would not be sufficient to do it away: he concludes, therefore, with telling us, that Vaughan is, '*well known to,*
' and probably *corresponds* with, the PRESIDENT,
' who

‘ who will *smile* at the surmises that have been ‘ thrown out.’ Matchless impudence ! and it is the more provoking, from being accompanied with such seeming tranquillity and ease.

But, supposing for a moment, the fact to be true ; supposing that Benjamin Vaughan, who gave intelligence respecting the state of his country, to an agent of the enemy, and who went afterwards to Paris, and joined a knot of execrable English traitors, avowedly in the service of France ; allowing that the ‘ dear friend’ of Talleyrand, Gallois, Stone, and Priestley ; allowing that the *secreted* M. B. P. who has assumed a feigned name, to be ‘ *well known* to,’ and even allowing that he ‘ *corresponds with*, the PRESIDENT,’ what does that make in justification of his designs in America ? The PRESIDENT of the United States *associating* and *corresponding* with such a man, must, indeed, give great pain to his friends, and pleasure to his enemies ; must fix the mark of folly on the character of his constituents, and that of imbecility on his own. But, it is false ; false as the heart of its inventor. No man who is acquainted with the PRESIDENT, or with his sentiments, will ever believe it. He entertains too hearty an abhorrence of Jacobinism, to take one of its apostles by the hand. If, however, the disgraceful and alarming fact were founded in truth, it would be no proof of the *innocent intentions* of the person who had the address to insinuate himself into the confidence of the PRESIDENT ; on the contrary, it would be a strong corroboration of our suspicions ; it would tend to prove, that he understood his business, and had succeeded in his mission ; for how could a *spy* obtain more, or better information, than by *conversing and corresponding with him*, whose breast is the repository of the designs and the secrets of the nation ?

Thus, I put an end to my remarks on this string of miserable excuses, which, instead of white-washing the characters of the preceptor and his pupil, have certainly added to the darkness of their former dye. In supporting our suspicion, respecting the conduct or intentions of any one, it is not to be expected, that we should be able to point out precisely, what crime he has committed, or is going to commit ; for this would no longer be *suspicion* ; it would be *proof*. When we say, we *suspect* men of evil deeds or intentions, all that is required of us is, that we bring forward, and establish the truth of facts, sufficient to warrant our suspicion. That such facts with respect to the evil intentions of Vaughan, and his confidential friend Priestley, were brought forward and established by the publication of Stone's treasonable letters, Priestley himself allows, when he says, that the publication has excited an *alarm*, &c. and, that the impression, which those facts were calculated to produce, ought not to be effaced by any thing contained in his paltry, shuffling explanation, I think will be granted by every American, whose mind is unperverted by the rancour of *whiggism*, and uncorrupted by the base and despicable principles of the Priestlean school.

OCTOBER, 1798.

Election at Baltimore.—The result of this contest, which has proved favourable to the “HERO OF MUD FORT,” is a disgrace to all the whole system of *universal suffrage*, and on the city of Baltimore itself, it implants a stain never to be removed by any thing its inhabitants can do or say.—For my part, I shall never more call it *Baltimore* ; the name of a noble family ought no longer to be degraded

degraded by such an application. I shall call it *Sans-culotte-ville*, which, being interpreted, means, "the city of ragamuffins."

*Extract of a Letter from Sans-culotte-ville, dated
October 4, 1798.*

"This night will end our four days' election, when SMITH, to the infamy of our district, will be chosen by a large majority; a melancholy record of Jacobin triumph, over the friends of government and its administration. His being a Major-general of the militia, and the lavish distribution, which has been made of money, in every quarter, for the use of the vulgar, has had an influence not to be controlled by reason or justice. Great preparations are making for the celebration of SMITH's success, this night. Several pipes of wine are taken out to the commons, for the populace to regale with. A triumphal chair is made on purpose, and great illuminations prepared by the democrats of our city. In short, the election has been attended with bloodshed and mobs. The peaceable voters have been driven from the hustings. The country parties, against SMITH, were, as they came in, met by the mobs, stoned, brick-batted, and knocked off their horses. In a word, it has been a perfect Paris election, and SMITH may be looked upon as the Marat of our city.

"P. S. Our MAYOR is a democrat, and, of course, never made one effort to check this vile and infamous rabble."

*Extract of a Letter from Harford, Maryland,
October 2, 1798.*

"At our election in this county yesterday, Thomas had about 150 votes, and Christie about

“ 350. I am fearful Christie will be elected;
“ great pains have been taken by him and his
“ party, making beef feasts, &c. in every corner
“ of the county, and preaching up opposition to
“ the government, sedition law, heavy taxes,
“ standing army, &c. and to the poorer class, that
“ Thomas’s party wishes, and have said that they
“ had the poor under, and they would keep them
“ so—they have got a great proportion of this
“ county, very much disaffected to our govern-
“ ment, and its administration, and I think the
“ French might, at this time, safely calculate on
“ three fourths of this county, willing to become
“ tributary to them; how it is in the counties of
“ Cecil and Kent, I cannot so well judge; but the
“ French interest has always been considerable
“ there, as well as here.

“ If a man in this county was to set up, and
“ openly declare himself in favour of, and in the
“ interest of, the Directory, I really believe, he
“ would have the greater part of the votes in this
“ county. Christie does not so openly declare
“ himself a tool of the Directory, and thereby de-
“ ceive some good disposed people.”

From Russell's Boston Gazette.—“ The leaders of the Frenchified party in the United States, do not despair of final success, they expect yet to accomplish their horrid views, by means of French intrigue. Some diplomatic spy will probably be sent over, ten thousand lies be told, the bare hearing one of which will make us deserving the fate of Switzerland. The sans-culotte minister, the moment he arrives, ought to be re-embarked, and sent back to the five-headed monster—we have nothing to gain, and every thing to lose by a new treaty with *modern Carthage*. Thank God, we have happily

pily got rid, by act of Congress, of the works of *Franklin* and *Jefferson*. Of *those detestable instruments*, made entirely according to the will of France, by those two accommodating philosophers. The day that they were annulled, ought to be kept as a grand jubilee throughout the United States. It relieved us from the deadly embraces of thieves, robbers, and assassins, from the worst situation which our country has been in, since its first settlement. If we return to such dreadful shackles, “we shall merit a greater punishment than other nations have suffered, and the just indignation of Heaven *.”

From J. Russell's Boston Gazette.—“One of the wisest measures ever adopted by our general government, is that by which we are disconnected with the perfidious French nation, whose character of Punic faith, generally applied to her under the monarchy, has been so firmly established by her conduct, since she assumed the republican form—a form so unsuitable to her frivolous disposition, that no change of conduct will ever alter it. Duplicity has been, and ever will be a leading trait in the political character of her rulers; whether a popular or monarchical government prevails. Of this the whole world has long been convinced, and every day's intercourse with them, confirms the fact, by evidence too powerfully demonstrative to be resisted. The United States, in particular, have reason to know it. Ever since the detestable French revolution, have the agents of that nation, as well at home and here, been pursuing steps inva-

* Such were the opinion which was, in 1798, entertained of the treaties with France.

riably militating against our welfare and tranquillity. To the virtuous firmness of our government alone, it is that we are indebted for a continuance of our political existence, and not to the hollow professions of a set of hypocrites, or their partisans among us, the treacherous Judas's of America; who, for money, or from predilection to a hostile nation, would betray their country's best interests into the hands of her most inveterate enemy.

“It was to be expected that Talleyrand, and the other members of the French government, would endeavour to shift the blame of a rupture, from their own shoulders upon us. They have represented our commissioners as inaccessible, and intrenching themselves in etiquette—while it is known every effort they made was fruitless. Wearied at last with a series of indignity and humiliation, to which the envoys of no other nation under heaven, would have submitted, they have quitted the inhospitable soil, and are all safe in America: And now, this hypocrite Talleyrand, and his coadjutors in iniquity, are labouring to establish an opinion, that the whole blame of failure is ours! No man, but a blind Jacobin, or a venal slave, can be imposed on by artifices so gross; and, none but villains accustomed to practise the vilest arts, and to cram the most evident absurdities down the throats of others in their power, could expect to be credited when asserting falsehoods so palpable. Yet, after all the provocations they are continually accumulating on us, they profess a desire to live in peace with us! But, as we are now separated, may the God of goodness, eternally preclude a second connection; for their friendship is only for the purpose of treachery—and their fraternal embrace—death!”

Envoy

Envoy Logan.—"By the extracts from Paris papers, now printed in America, it appears that Doctor Logan has drawn to himself the eyes of Europe and America—When he left Philadelphia, there were many just causes to suspect that he was sent to France on a political mission, in the character of agent for the French faction in the United States. Who will doubt it, when he knows that Dr. Logan has had frequent conferences with Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and has been honourably entertained by Merlin, the president of the directory.

"It was long ago ascertained, and has been for some time *generally* believed, that a regular intercourse was kept up between certain leaders of the opposition party to the federal government, and the conductors of the French republic; that there was a regular co-operation of the French faction here, and the French rulers there to destroy, and essentially change the present constitution, and to put the affairs of America under the guidance of men devoted to France. Can now, *any person whatever*, who has given the most cursory attention to political occurrences, hesitate to believe, that such a faction has existed; and at this moment, that their chief is *usurping* the executive powers of the nation. We are informed, under the Paris head of news, that Dr. Logan is an envoy from the Americans, who avow their gratitude and friendship to France; and that he carried with him letters from T. Jefferson to Merlin, or Talleyrand.

"Need it be asked by what authority has Thomas Jefferson presumed to interfere in the management of our intercourse with foreign nations? He is but vice-president; and, in usurping the functions of the chief magistrate, he has given a proof of ambition—

tion—the *ruling* passion of his heart—that cannot soon be forgotten. His retirement from the office of secretary of state, which has been represented by his friends as an evidence of his humility, will no longer be mistaken by any, not even by the most charitable of men, who are ready to attribute the most suspicious actions to laudable motives. This *anticipation of the supreme power of the state*, while it marks his inordinate thirst of power, shews that the bounds of the constitution are vain barriers against him.

“ Mr. Jefferson’s intimacy with Dr. Logan—their frequent communications, previous to his departure—a departure sudden and almost unaccountable—a departure in the same vessel that carried Kosciusko, Volney, &c. &c.—his reception at Paris by Talleyrand and Merlin, carry an irresistible conviction, that he was well announced, and recommended from America. This Dr. Logan, it is true, is the same person with whom Mr. Monroe, while minister at Paris, corresponded ; but, this circumstance alone, could not have obtained for him an admittance to the President of the Directory of the *bad nation*.—He must have had other credentials.—From whom could they have been obtained ? From none but the leaders of the French faction.—Is it not time for the people to dismiss these leaders—such as Jefferson, Gallatin, Tazewell, and Lyon, from their confidence and service ? Or, will they countenance acts of usurpation, upon the sovereign authorities ? Will they trust power to men, who, not content with their legitimate share, though great and far above their desert, are grasping that which has never been confided to them—are undertaking to conduct the affairs of the United States, without the lawful will of the people, and in derogation of the constituted authorities ? *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*—CÆSAR or

or NOBODY, is the motto of every tyrant—Hence the embassy of Logan.—Look to it, people of America, and, by times, take heed !

“ MARCUS.”

WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING !

Take Care, Religious Damsels !

INTERESTING LAW CASE.

ANN BURNS, } Action of damages for breach
vs. } of promise of marriage, before
JOHN BAKER. } the Honourable Judge Kent, at
the sittings held after July term, Friday, August
17, 1798.

Counsel for the Plaintiff.

MR. HARRISON, MR. MONROE.

For the Defendant.

MR. EVERSTON, MR. LEE.

Mr. Monroe, on behalf of the Plaintiff, opened the cause. He stated to the court and jury, that his client was a young woman of respectable family and connections ; that she had been addressed by the defendant, in the character of a lover, who sought a connection with her on honourable terms ; that he continued his attention to her, till he had effected her seduction, and when he had discovered she was pregnant, had abandoned her ; that the defendant was a man who belonged to the society of the Methodists, and had introduced himself to his client as a preacher of the gospel, and under the cloak of religion effected her ruin. He trusted the jury would mark such conduct by heavy damages.

Thomas

Thomas Ivers was the first witness called for the plaintiff. He swore that he knew the parties; that the defendant was a preacher in the methodist church, and as such, became acquainted with the plaintiff, who was his grand daughter; that he knew him frequently to wait upon her home, and shew the usual behaviour and attentions of a young man who was courting; that he, as well as her connections, had a high opinion of his religion, for he was very much accustomed to pray in the family, and to sing psalms, and it was considered by him as well as her friends, as a match.

Roderick M'Cloud the next witness, was called to prove the defendant's hand writing—which having done, the following letter was produced and read in evidence. [It seems to have been written in answer to one, in which the plaintiff had informed him of being out of health.] As the correction of it would be something of a task, we give the letter of the *preacher verbatim et literatim*, preserving even the spelling; it was addressed to Mr. Nancy Birn, Woodbridg.

DEAR MADAM,

I had the plesure this morning to Read a few lines from you my Dearest friend in which I had the Disagreeable News of your illness of body with gratitude I inform you that I am well in body and mind thanks be to GOD for these inestimable blessings it was with pleasure that I Received your letter but the news of your indisposition pierces my breast with Disagreeable & Keen Sensations of Sorrow but I flatter myself that it ariseth from the feteage of your Journey and that you will shortly Recover through Divine mersy and be restored to your helth and to my sight but in this I must Say Not my will but the will of god be Done.

I have

I have not yet gone the small Journey that I expected and as Sercumstanies now is I dont think I shall Mr.,asbury has arrived here and wishes me to with him to wilborough Conference I have not consented however the time approaches that I must leave you with all that I ingoy beneath the sun and enter into an unkind World to preach tthe gospell of a glorious Redeemer or ellse fare well to hapynes forever

it is vaine for us to murmur or repine at Divine providence let us gladly Do, and Sffur the Will of god oure time is short and is Wasting away eternaty is Rolling on a few more Rolling suns & and meeting and parting Will be no more O let it be our anktious Care to se cure an interest in the blood of Jesus that we may meet where parting Shall be no more forever thare sickness and sorrow shall be done away.

O then, let our affection be Weaned from things of earth & let our harts be in heaven Dear Nancy let me intreat you to lay asid those glomy thoughts Concerning the ingoyments of this present world and seek those ingoyments which from a bove by giving Christ your hart

but must I seas to wright my time and paper fales and Now to the arms of a bleeding saviour I Com-mend your prisious soul and body hoping that he Who a lone can Do the Work Will bring you into soundness of helth of body mind and soul & gide & comfort you through this short life and bring us at last to ingoy him and each other in a better world and now may the spirit of peace and love be with you my Dear let our lov Constant and though partid in body Wee shall be present in mind and hart

thin

thin mountains shall rise and oceans Roll To sever
us en Vain

I am your affectionate friend

JOHN BAKER

New York July the 28 1798

Ebenezer Doughty was next called—He swore that the defendant told him about a twelvemonth ago, at which time, as it afterwards appeared, the plaintiff was pregnant, that if a certain something turned up, he should be married very shortly—otherwise not in two or three years; and that he was acquainted with the circumstance of the defendant's visiting her, and being attentive to her and to her only.

William Vallead swore, that he saw the defendant frequently visiting the plaintiff, and attending particularly to her; that he asked him if he intended to marry, and he said he did not know; on which the witness advised him to discontinue his visits, to which, however, he paid no regard, but went to see her as usual. At length it appeared the plaintiff was pregnant, and charged it upon the defendant—he did not pretend to deny it, but said however, on being asked if he would marry her, he did not know how it might be, but he could not think of such a thing then, and begged the matter might rest there till he should come back from the country, where he was going to preach the gospel.

Margaret Morgan was next called as the last witness, she said that she was present when the defendant was sent for and told the plaintiff's situation, and charged with his baseness to her, and reproached by her that he had seduced her *under a promise of marriage*. He admitted he was the father of the child, and as to the rest he replied, that the best and godliest of men had been overcome; that
Adam,

Adam, and David, and Solomon, had also fallen—but that this was all owing, however, to the warmth of her own passions; and in fine, that if *he had promised her marriage*, she could not prove it, nor could she recover any damages if she did, for he was not worth any thing.

Here the plaintiff's counsel rested the cause, leaving it to the jury to presume whether a promise of marriage was not so irresistible as to entitle them to a verdict.

The counsel for the preacher opened the defence by stating that they should depend much on the failure of the plaintiff's proof; but if the jury should be of a different opinion, they should shew, in mitigation of damages, some very improper conduct on the part of the plaintiff, such as no virtuous woman could be guilty of; that they would next shew that the defendant was worth nothing, and of course it could not be expected that a verdict for large damages would be given, even if they should think the plaintiff had made out her cause.

Roderick McCloud was then called again, as a witness for the defendant.—He was asked by Mr. Lee if he was not knowing to the plaintiff having at some time granted improper liberties to a certain person? He answered very readily, that he was knowing to her granting very improper freedoms indeed, and such as he was persuaded no virtuous woman in such a situation would.—Here he was interrupted by Mr. Monroe, who told him that such was very exceptionable testimony, and that he must name precisely what these freedoms were, that the jury might judge of them.—He was then asked who the person was who had received such improper favours? He boggled a little, and at length said he could not answer that question, as it affected too nearly his own character, but it being

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urged upon him, he confessed that he himself was the person. He was then asked if he also was not a methodist preacher? this he declined answering, and his counsel attempted to support the objection, but it being ruled by the court to be proper, he was compelled to answer in the affirmative.—He was then asked to tell the jury exactly what these freedoms were; this seemed to trouble him sorely; but after a little hesitation it came out, that she had permitted him to wait upon her home, four or five times and—to kiss her, and had once laid his hand to her neck; but it appeared from further examination, that she had resisted him, even when he attempted to kiss her, and had absolutely refused him when he attempted to take any further liberties. He acknowledged this was after she was in a state of pregnancy; but denied that it was produced by any preconcerted plan between the defendant himself, or that he had done it with a view to inform the defendant or to assist him in his cause. After being interrogated by Mr. Monroe about twenty minutes, and going through what may be called a *sweating process*, he was permitted to retire.

James Goursay was called to prove the defendant's circumstances, which he swore were quite penurious, but that his father might be worth 3 or 400*l*.

The evidence being closed, Mr. Evetson, for the defendant, arose and addressed the jury in behalf of his client. He said, he felt himself uncommonly at a loss what to say in this cause, which he thought was not supported by testimony; for the answer of the defendant to the plaintiff, "that she could not prove that he ever promised her marriage," was very equivocal evidence that he had—that the plaintiff having proved that she was a person of respectable connections, and rather above
the

the defendant, instead of having the effect to increase the damages, ought in fact to lessen them; for it shewed he had not lost an opportunity of making a very good match. But what weighed most in his mind, her own behaviour, which he could not but consider as very reprehensible—that it was a maxim in law, that a plaintiff should always come into court to ask for justice “with pure hands,” but as to this person, it having been proved by their own evidence, that she had had a child by means of illicit commerce, they could not think her a very virtuous woman; but that her behaviour to the witness, the Rev. Mr. Clóud, was in his mind a forfeiture of all character—for a woman who was courted by one man, to suffer another to wait upon her home, to kiss her and fondle with her so much as even to lay his hand upon her neck, evinced, he would say, “a violent propensity to “concubinage;” and no virtuous woman would do it, especially at the age of five and twenty, when the passions may be supposed in some measure to have cooled. He concluded by recommending to the jury to consider the defendant’s circumstances.

Mr. Harrison then rose and in a speech of about half an hour, addressed the jury in that eloquent and impressive manner which always characterizes that gentleman when speaking under the conviction that he advocates the cause of the injured. He told the jury he found an embarrassment almost equal to that professed by the council on the other side, in what manner to express himself on this interesting occasion. It was his duty to strip the assumed cloak of religion, from the shoulders of villainy, and expose it to the world in all its naked deformity. When the garb of sanctity was borrowed for the vile and detestable purpose of seduction, when the face of devotion was put on to ac-

comply with the design of entering the unsuspected roof of hospitality, and planting a dagger in its vitals, no language could do justice to the subject, or give expression to the indignation that he felt. He would not, he said, detain the jury by a minute examination of the testimony; he submitted the force of it to them in full confidence that they would readily discern where the truth lay.—As to the pitiful defence which had been set up, that she had granted improper liberties to another person, at a time when she had received a promise of marriage from the defendant, he was unable to see, as the gentleman on the other side had done, the great crime in it. It was to be remembered that the witness had been received by her as the friend of her lover, and considering his extraordinary appearance of sanctity, she could not think there was much harm in granting him the liberty of kissing her cheek—perhaps after resistance—perhaps in some frolicsome mood. As to the plea of poverty in the defendant, if that was permitted, all morality would be at an end, it would only be for a man to say he was poor, and could not pay damages, and he might commit any crime with impunity. Since it had arrived to that pass, that public teachers of religion, instead of setting a pattern of virtue, exhibited the most flagrant examples of vice and infamy, it had become the duty of courts and justices to exert all their powers and all their influence to preserve the morals of the community; and he would conclude by saying, that if the jury did not mark this case by a verdict of exemplary damages, he was very apprehensive of the pernicious effects it would have on society.

His Honour, Judge Kent, then stated to the jury the law, as it applied to the facts in the case, and gave them a summary of the evidence; he observed that they must not permit their feelings to control

trol their judgment; but it was for them to consider if it did not appear from the testimony of M'Cloud, that there had been a plan concerted to seduce and ruin the plaintiff by two unprincipled hypocrites; but they were the proper and constitutional judges of the facts, and he left the whole cause in their hands.

The jury brought in their verdict next morning for the Plaintiff—Damages, *Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars.*

YELLOW FEVER.—The dreadful scourge being now removed, for this year at least, we may, like a traveller who has escaped from the jaws of some ravenous wild beast, venture to look behind us.—The following remarks, incidents, and fables, are extracted from FOLWELL's account of the yellow fever of 1798.

Humanity must surely recoil at the circumstance, but the fact is certain, that a poor, distressed object of human woe, was forcibly landed, on the morning of Friday last, from a vessel, at the public wharf at the hay-scales, in the district of the Northern liberties, at 11 o'clock; and lay exposed there, without shelter, the same night, and remained under the debilitating heat of Saturday, until one o'clock, when the poor sufferer expired, without receiving the friendly aid of humanity to support him in the last moments of life. His corpse was afterwards suffered to be interred at the expense of a few charitable citizens.

About the middle of August, a German, a stranger in the place, applied to be admitted into the Pennsylvania Hospital. His case did not come strictly within their cognizance, and he was refused. He then solicited an entrance into the almshouse;

house; but having the dysentery, and not being entitled to a place of residence there, he was unsuccessful. His next application was to the health-officer of the port; but he conceiving himself unauthorized to send him to the City Hospital, the poor wretch was turned away without any hope of relief. What became of him, is not known; but the despondency depicted in his countenance, produced a correspondent sentiment of sympathy in the minds of many, all of whom seemed to regret his unhappy condition, though none knew in what manner to grant him the aid he required.

The body of a man was found in the house of Captain Stevens, which was almost ate up by vermin. The family had left the house about a month previous. Three days after which, it was opened to get out some goods, and shut up again till the end of September; when a Captain Skaidmore procured the key to take out a chest. As soon as he opened the door, such an offensive stench issued out of it, as induced him and a boy who accompanied him, to retreat. They were both shortly after taken sick. The body was suffered to remain till evening; when two negroes were hired for sixteen dollars, to throw the corpse into the river. No trace was left to distinguish whether it was the remnant of a white or of a black man, excepting his having long brown hair.—It is true, though very extraordinary, that the family do not know how he got in, nor what soul had possessed the body. They left no person, to their knowledge, in the house. It was well secured, and they found it so. He lay under a cot-bedstead, and had nothing on but a shirt. Even a woman who afterwards cleansed the house, took sick and died.—Hence, a father, a mother, a wife, or perhaps his children, will daily hope to find him; but, while this anticipation may
lull

lull their minds from too-deeply grieving at his loss, no trace remains of him. They do not know that he is gone to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns."

A man was found dead in a house in Front, near Walnut-street. The corpse was first discovered, by an offensive smell. From the time that elapsed after the family left the house, it is thought, it laid there, at least, a month. It was in so high a state of putrefaction, that it was removed by pieces to the coffin in which it was deposited.

A man was found dead in a sail-loft, who was seen, apparently hearty, only three days previous.

A French gentleman was found dead in a house in Vine, near Front-street. The corpse was discovered only by a putrid effluvia. No person lived in the house with him.

A woman was found dead in Water-street. The corpse laid one day before it was discovered. Her young child was alive upon the same bed with her.

The corpse of a woman was found on the commons, also of two men at No. 171, North Second-street.

The corpse of a man was found in Water-street. It was carefully laid out, and wrapped in a sheet, ready for the coffin.

September 23.—A person was found dead in Eighth, between Race and Vine-streets. On the 25th, a child was found dead on the commons, near Potter's-field. On the 27th, the body of a man was discovered on the wharf below Mr. Wharton's counting-house.

October 16.—A dead woman was found in a house at the corner of Eighth and Shippen-streets.

About the 16th of August, a person passing through Union, between Second and Third-streets, perceived a noxious effluvia, of the nature of that which is emitted by coffee, in a state of putrefaction. He was next day seized with a severe illness, and died in a few days.

About the 24th of August, a person went home in a fright, from having seen a yellow-looking man. He took sick, and died in eight days.

The case of Jane Doron, at the City-Hospital, is somewhat remarkable : She was, to all appearance, dead. A coffin was brought, and other preparations for her interment pursued. But some doubt remained in the mind of Dr. May, the physician. He returned—and, upon examining her body, he felt a warmth near the heart, yet without any palpitation. Urged by this, he then resolved to try his utmost efforts. He began to rub her arm, in order to bring on a pulse by friction. The steward, who was also present, laid hold of the other arm, and followed the example. In two hours, she shewed symptoms of life, first, by a quivering at the region of the heart, and a few hours afterwards, by an hysteric fit, which went off with a copious effusion of tears. She recovered.

Mr. J. Conchy's son died of the calamity. The same day his daughter went to the river to bring water : She fell in, and was drowned.

A person entered the house of Mr. M'P——. He mentioned that he had just put a body in a coffin. This alarmed Mrs. M'P——. She immediately took sick. Distress, unusually accumulated, soon followed. Mrs. M'P—— and a child were attacked. Mrs. M'P——'s mother and brother went to assist them. They were likewise seized ; and all died but Mr. and Mrs. M'P—— : nor did distress

distress end here :—Whilst they were in a state of convalescence, they were recommended to move to a more airy, and less-infected situation. On their removal, they hired a white nurse ; having previously experienced the negligence of several black ones. But, she proved to be more abandoned. She let in some persons during the night. Their noise alarmed Mr. M'P——, who was but just able to walk. He went to inquire what was going on ; but, he found them gone, and fire on the floor in several places. They were robbed of cash, plate, &c.—Even the body-clothes of the two patients, who were in bed, were carried off.

In many families the mortality was general. Three bodies have been taken out of *one* house at *one* time. Whole families were, in several instances swept off. Mr. Wiles's wife died on the 26th of September. By the time the hearse came for the corpse, his son was dead ; his journeyman died the same day ; next day Mr. Wiles died, and his brother-in-law next day after.

Mr. Scott, a stout robust man, in delirium, ran into the street in his shirt and night-cap ; and walked up several squares, before he was overtaken. A patient made his escape from the Hospital with nothing on but his shirt, and went to his lodgings, in Water-street, (a distance of two miles) ; when he arrived, he was covered with blood : It was caused by his removing the bandages from the orifice, where he was bled at the Hospital.

The screams of a woman, who died at No. 32, Carter's-alley, were heard to the distance of Strawberry-alley, on the one side, and Dock-street on the other. The wall of the room was sprinkled with blood, that issued from her mouth, upwards of two feet from where her head lay.

Some

Some were attacked in the street, others on the commons, and there generally laid till a coach came to carry them to the hospital.—Drunkards lying in the street, have also been sent to the hospital, supposed to have the fever.

Many scenes occurred to the drivers of the sick coaches, which were calculated to soften hearts the most hardened! Fathers and mothers delivered to them their sick children, children their parents, wives their husbands, husbands their wives, &c. &c. but most frequently, masters their servants, and landlords their lodgers.

A gentleman who remained in the city during the calamity, principally from an intention of assisting his suffering fellow-creatures, in taking his rounds one morning, met with a man lying in a gutter; who, in his agony, had much bruised himself and torn his cloaths. A number of people at a distance were viewing him; but none ventured to his assistance. His own son had deserted him! Shocking to humanity! Had it not been for the interference of the above gentleman, he must have died, to the reproach of human nature, like a beast! He was removed to the hospital, where the last moments of this afflicted man were somewhat assuaged by the lenient hand of attention. He lived but a few hours after he was removed from the gutter.

A gentleman of New-Jersey, went to German-town. When arrived, he felt overcome by heat and fatigue; but, notwithstanding, he transacted his business; and immediately set off to return home. On his way in the road, which leads from Frankford to German-town, perceiving a pleasant place under the shade of a tree, he laid down, with an intention of resting himself. Several persons, who passed by, expressed their pity for his situation,
supposing

supposing him ill with the fever, but took good care to keep on the other side of the road. At length a lady with her daughter, who happened to be riding by, perceived him, and supposing him ill of the fever, ordered her servant to drive up to the fence. The gentleman, surprised, raised himself up, and the lady in a sympathizing tone of voice, desired to know if he was unwell. He informed her he was not. But she supposing he was unwilling to confess it, pressed him, that if he had the fever, and no friends near, she would take him to her house, which was close by, and nurse him herself. The gentleman impressed with gratitude, arose, thanked her, and declared that he was only fatigued, and had not been in Philadelphia.

A person from Philadelphia, travelling in West New-Jersey, stopped at the house of Mr. Craig, a miller, where he was attacked with the fever: he died in a few days. During his illness, he was nursed by Mrs. Craig both day and night, who would not let any other go nigh him. She remained with him till he died, and even assisted to lay him in a coffin.

A woman of Wilmington, after losing one of her family with the fever that raged there, fled with her five children to the house of her father, a few miles from Chester.—He possesses a large house, farm, &c. On their approach, her father's house-keeper came to the gate, and forbid them to enter, at the same time fastened it. The fugitives took shelter in a school-house, nearly opposite, and received daily support, for near three weeks, from the neighbours generally, the father's family excepted.

During the height of the calamity, it was difficult to procure nurses. The hire was from one to five dollars per day! Richard Allen and William Gray,

Gray, two men of colour, were very serviceable in assisting to procure nurses. They recommended none but those whom they supposed could be trusted.

A young man of the name of Henry Bullyberger, of Philadelphia, moved to Upper-Providence, Delaware county, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia. Contrary to the injunctions of his friends, he secretly visited Philadelphia to see his relations. He went to the hospital burying-ground: he there saw seventeen interred. His sister and her husband, whom he visited, took the fever, with himself, who all died in the space of nine days.

Many facts appear, which evidence that the yellow fever is contagious in country places, distant from tide-water, marshes, &c. In German-town, the infection was in several cases, communicated from one to another.

TABLE of Daily Returns for August.

Days.	New Cases.	City Hospital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8						53	66
9		4	1		2	12	11
10		9	1		10	7	6
11		11	2		19	16	7
12		7	6		18	20	3
13		9	4		23	17	11
14		3	4		22	20	4
15		6	6		22	27	9
16		7	2		27	17	7
17		10	3	2	32	15	6
18	15	3	3		32	19	5
19		9	7	2	32	24	9
20		5	5	1	30	16	7
21	50	11	3		38	20	8
22	38	11	3		46	31	13
23	42	11				20	10
24	49	10	11	2	54	25	17
25	37	8	6	1	55	40	12
26	111 }	18	7	1	65	48	17
27		19	10		65	34	12
28	60	8	6	1	67	36	22
29	69	13	8		65	33	24
30	53	12	8	4	67	45	20
31	81	18	6	3	77	31	17
	605	222	112	17		626	325

TABLE of Daily Returns for September.

Days.	New Cases.	City Hospital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1	107	18	12	2	81	4	17
2	} 130	22	7	1	95	41	18
3		8	9	5	84	28	11
4	87	18	8	3	91	65	23
5	100	17	10		98	67	20
6	93	25	4	2	116	50	24
7	127	17	13	3	117	52	18
8	110	14	8	2	122	63	42
9	} no re- port.	10	7	13	120	73	32
10		11	13	2	115	74	29
11	91	14	8	5	117	73	23
12	105	15	9		122	71	33
13	85	16	9	3	125	57	37
14	92	10	8	3	112	61	48
15	97	18	7	4	117	60	56
16	} 198	} 27	} 14	} 7	} 121	} 128	67
17							81
18	105	17	7		131	57	68
19	84	32	9	1	151	58	61
20	72	20	9	6	154	69	67
21	126	16	13		158	78	57
22	86	15	7	1	164	68	76
23	} 194	15	10	26	142	71	68
24		18	15		145	63	96
25	85	25	8	12	149	80	87
26	95	14	16	6	140	77	52
27	96	13	7		146	86	60
28	54	13	10	13	136	106	51
29	67	9	8	4	133	75	57
30		10	11			85	63
2486		483	276	124		2004	1442

TABLE of Daily Returns for October.

Days.	New Cases.	City Ho-pital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1	*100	11	15	22	116	85	74
2	39	19	9		116	83	67
3	41	16	3	12	117	49	78
4	22	8	7		118	46	58
5	25	5	4	16	101	36	71
6	18	9	8	17	85	38	76
7	} 48	8	2			25	82
8		2	2	6	85	29	90
9	27	6	3		88	20	102
10	32	6	2	14	78	14	93
11	47	7	3		82	43	119
12	36	14	8		87	41	111
13	23	9	2	12	82	27	104
14	} 48	8	8		82	40	81
15		8	5		85	34	80
16	22	7	4	12	76	32	70
17	27	4	4		76	25	80
18	27	4	3		77	25	59
19	17	4	5	24	52	34	65
20	13	4	2		54	19	55
21	} 26	4	1		58	14	59
22		3	4		57	20	82
23	16	1	4		40	22	54
24	10	5	1	14	44	17	38
25	12	5	1		48	16	35
26	12	2	1		49	20	23
27	5	3	1	12	39	20	13
28	} 18	3	3		39	16	25
29		3	5	7	30	22	17
30	8	3	3		30	15	16
31	10	2	3		29	16	22
	729	193	126	168		943	1099

* This 100 also includes the new cases of the day previous.

TABLE exhibiting the Number of Interments in each Burying-Ground.

NAMES.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Total 1798	Total 1799
Christ Church	2	44	12	68	173
St. Peter's	25	25	14	64	109
St. Paul's	14	21	9	44	70
First Presbyterian	18	17	12	47	73
Second Presbyterian	18	32	17	67	128
Third Presbyterian	19	33	1	69	107
Scots Presbyterian				19	33
Associate Church				18	12
St. Mary's Church	52	147	38	237	281
Trinity Church	12	34	15	61	54
Friends	24	71	24	119	373
Free Quakers	10	6	7	23	39
Swedes	21	40	18	79	75
German Lutheran	54	192	128	374	641
German Reformed	29	97	66	192	261
Moravians		6	7	13	18
Baptists	5	29	11	45	60
Methodists	9	21	16	46	32
Universalists				9	2
Jews					2
African Episcopal and Methodist	5	9	5	19	
City Hospital				1716	1334
Kensington				235	169
Coates's				9	
Total from the 1st to the 5th Nov.				3573	4041
				72	
				3645	

The above Table makes the total of deaths amount to 3645. Our list of the names of the deceased only amounts to 3521; but, we think it probable, that the total mortality, occasioned by the pestilence, this year, including those who died in the country, exceeds 4000.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

IN this place I insert a number of detached anecdotes, which were collected during my residence in Philadelphia. As to the order of arranging them very little attention has been paid to dates, as they are entirely disconnected with each other, and every one sufficiently explains itself. Their merits consist in their *truth*, and in the example which they furnish of the effects of democratical principles, carried into practice. Where the asterisks are made use of instead of the names of persons, &c. the names are suppressed from proper motives, but never from a want of my possessing them; for, I have received nothing as true, the truth of which I am not well satisfied of.

Theobald Wolf Tone, in the defence, which he set up before the Court Martial in Ireland, made great professions of *disinterestedness*. "Every action of my life," said he, "has, with unvarying solicitude, tended to the *emancipation* of my country. Born to an humble, but honourable poverty, I had not only to struggle with penury, but with temptation; but it now gratifies my heart, and consoles me under what otherwise would be a deep affliction, that I have *refused* offers, certainly dangerous to the virtue of a man

“ in my obscure situation. The *good of my country*
 “ *was the first object of my life*—for this I became
 “ an exile—for this I *submitted to poverty*—for
 “ *this* I left the bosom of my family—my wife!
 “ my children! all that made life valuable!—
 “ to procure the aid I thought essential to the
 “ *welfare of Ireland*. I braved the danger of the
 “ deep, the fire of the enemy—with my brave,
 “ my faithful comrades, I embarked for my native
 “ country, in the delightful hope of raising from
 “ abject slavery, three millions of my fellow
 “ men!”

The miscreant's declarations are calculated to make men believe, that, though a desperate ruffian, he was at least *disinterested* and probably misguided.—The following papers will, however, prove the contrary.—They were given to me about three weeks ago; just after we heard of his being seized.—The reader will remember, that he had a brother *Matthew*, who was executed some time ago, and who confessed upon his trial, that he had been in *America*. The following letters and note was addressed to him while here. The note and first letter are in *T. W. Tone's* hand writing; the last letter, in the hand writing of his wife. The originals were sent me from New-York. The whole are printed word for word and letter for letter.

“ *Dublin, February 8, 1793.*

“ DEAR MATT.

“ We have had all the letters which you mention in your last, of January 1st, and some months since we wrote you a joint letter, directed to you at the post-office, Philadelphia, which it does not appear whether you got or not. As I suppose your principal anxiety is to learn about your family, I shall begin with that subject—Your father and
 mother

mother are in all respects precisely as you left them—His engagement with the Board continues and is likely to do so, I think for his life—By this means he is enabled to exist, and they seem contented enough—Fanny is growing tall, which is all I can tell you of her, and Arthur is a very fine boy; he took a great inclination for the sea a few months ago, which I, for one, would not oppose, but that seems now gone off again—however, I dare say it will return, for all my family have a kind of vagrant disposition: At present he is very diligent at school; and I shall attend particularly to the hint which you give as to making him a good accountant—and now I have done with Bride-street.—I had a letter from Will, dated Madras Road, August 20, 1792; he was then well, after a fine passage, but the war being over, the troops were all ordered to Bengal, so his letters were of no use;—however he wrote in good spirits.—I am on the application now to get letters to Bengal in his favour which may serve him or not, but the peace with Tippoo is much against him.—For my own family, Matty and Mary are as well and as happy as queens, and from appearances I judge in a short time you will have a nephew or niece, but I hope the former, for one girl I hold to be enough in any family—Maria is coming on as you left her, and Willy is grown a fine little fellow, running about; he is with my nurse, and has been near a twelvemonth, and I shall not remove him till God knows when.—Now for my own affairs—I was engaged, by the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, to act as their Secretary for one year, at a salary of 200*l.* which year will expire on the 1st of May next, or thereabouts. I have been in consequence fully employed in writing pamphlets and all manner of publications (most of which I will send with this letter) as well as several journies to the North,

Connaught, &c. &c.—In short, I have been totally devoted to that cause, to the relinquishing of every other pursuit; but you know I like that, having a turn for politics. We had a kind of Catholic Parliament, held in Dublin, before last Christmas, consisting of delegates from all the counties and great towns in Ireland, wherein I officiated as one of the Secretaries, and a petition to the throne (which I wrote) was voted, praying a repeal of all the penal laws.—It was also agreed to send this, not in the ordinary way, through the Lord Lieutenant, but by a special deputation of five of their own body direct to his Majesty, which was accordingly done, and I attended them to London about the 12th of December last—After some little difficulty the King received the petition, and we returned after a month's absence, so you see I have been once more in London since we parted—We are now applying to parliament, the King having recommended us in his speech, and in the course of the session we expect to be relieved from perhaps the whole, but at any rate much the greatest part of our grievances—When I say *We*, I mean the Catholics—The other great party here, I mean the Dissenters, are pushing hard for a general redress of grievances, or at least the means of redressing them by an effectual reform in parliament, an abolition of pensions, places, &c. &c. They have supported the Catholics in their claims, and the moment the bill is past for the relief of that body, the two suits will (as I hope and believe) unite and either compel the wicked government of this country to do them justice, or else expel them at once, in which case we shall have a Republic in Ireland, and I suppose nearly in the model of one of the American states; for I hear even the enemies of reform agree that if we are once obliged to change our rulers, we will never relapse into the folly of monarchy

monarchy again.—The affairs of Ireland were never in so precarious a posture as at this moment.—The peace of the country hangs by a single hair, and I shall not be at all surprised if we are plunged in an internal war before summer is over.—And yet this is the precious moment wherein the King has thought proper to go to war with France, having Ireland in this unsettled state at his back. We expect war to be formally declared every day. The army is augmented prodigiously, both here and in England, and a large fleet put in commission. If he be mad or wicked enough to join the conspiracy of tyrants against the liberty of mankind, I hope and he will be instantly rewarded by the loss of Ireland—All parties here wish the French success, even those who abhor their principles, for we all see clearly that if they be crushed, our liberties are at the mercy of the king. The king of France was beheaded by a sentence of the Convention on the 21st of last month. This might teach others wisdom, but kings are a race of men who never profited, nor ever will, by their own experience or that of other.—If “*the best of princes*,” shall contrive in one reign to lose America and Ireland which I think far from improbable he will make a shining figure in history.

“To return to my own affairs.—As I have been of a good deal of use in these Catholic affairs, and as they are now grown a considerable party in the country, they talk of *making my fortune*, which you see is a very indefinite term—How my fortune is to be made does not appear—If it be by business in the way of my profession (which I do not believe it is), that, if it ever succeeds, will be a very slow way—They are now raising a general subscription among themselves and I have got hints from divers quarters that a part of the sum to be levied will be presented to me. They gave Richard Burke (son

to Edmund) two thousand guineas, and he did them a damned deal 'of mischief.—What they may give to me, if they give me any thing, I am utterly unable to conjecture; but suppose they give me 1000*l.*—*In that case I think it extremely probable that I shall settle in America*—Matty and Mary and I have had many serious conversations on the subject, and they are more sanguine in the project than I am. If I stay here, the money will dwindle away, and when it is out I shall be just where I"

The above letter is not finished. The last leaf of the paper is torn off; but it is in the same hand writing with the following note, which is signed *T. W. Tone.*

"This was the *first* pamphlet on the present question. I suppose not less than 20,000 have been sold in various shapes. The last edition was published, with my name, by order of the General Committee at *one penny*, for the purpose of general distribution—There were 10,000 sold.

"T. W. TONE."

"*February 1793.*"

The foregoing note is written in the blank page of a pamphlet, entitled "*An Argument in Favour of the Catholics, published at Belfast,*" and which was sent out to *Matthew* along with the above letter.

"DEAR MATT

"THE* has told you all the news in the world and left me no one rational subject for A letter, so you must take A light with all its imperfections on its head the only serious thing I have to tell you is

* An abbreviation.

this the Catholicks are going to give THE A sum of money with which he has A great inclination to settle in America this plan as far as I can Judg strikes me as A most excellent one our most sanguine expectations are but 2 thousand pounds and if he gets but one we are contented indeed we shall be very well of when you consider our present situation which is entirely depending on chance and certainly the most comfortless one in the world—now with such A sum as I have mentioned what can be done, the interest will not support us and if we break in on the principal it will not last us 2 years for you know how dexterous we are at discussing A large sum I think A dwindle would be the inevitable consequence at the end of which we might all turn out beg for unless A miracle was wrought in our favours nothing could save us

now I think when you consider what I have written on the subject you will think America the best possible speculation for us, at first it struck me as A melancholy thing that A young man of THE's enterprising genius should busy him self in A country the inhabitants of which I conceive *not very capable of understanding such abilities as his** but it was partly my vanity and partly my ambition that suggested the regret, and when I come to examine things more nearly I was decidedly for our going—I think with our exertions we should be enabled to live very happy if not very *splendidly* as for myself and I can also answer for Matty we are quite tired of living in this uncertainty and both of us long very much to know what we have to depend on

* This poor woman was quite mistaken; for if THE had been twice as great a rebel as he was, (if that were possible) he would have found people in America fully "*capable of understanding such abilities.*"

there is another thing of no small importance to tell you of, Matty is going shortly to make you an uncle or an aunt and if we do not go in the course of 2 months she will be unable to undertake the voyage till July next and even then with great expense and trouble as she should bring out A nurse and you know what A bone that would be, so do you send your intelligence as fast as you can that in *case we get the money* there may be no delay this letter will tak you an hour or two to decipher but as an appology I wrote the latter part in the dark and have hardly time to subscribe myself yours.

M TONE

instead of July Matty woud not be able to go till september so be speedy in your answers"

Thus, the reader will see, that this villain worked for *gain*; for gain he became an author, a rebel, a traitor.—His design, if he got the *money* was to *leave Ireland to its fate*.—He got the money in 1794 (1,500*l.*) but it was given only in condition of his going as envoy of the UNION to solicit aid from France.—All the history of the miscreant's intrigues is exposed in *Mr. Duigenan's* most excellent work.

The following letter was taken from a Leeds paper, where it was published first.

"Northumberland, (*Pennsylvania*) Oct. 4, 1796.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Every account I have from England makes me think myself happy in this peaceful retirement, where I enjoy almost every thing I can wish in this life, and where I hope to close it, though I find it is reported, both here and in England, that I am about to return. The two heavy afflictions I have met

met with here, in the death of a son, and of my wife, rather serve to attach me to the place. Though dead and buried, I would not willingly leave them, and hope to rest with them when the sovereign disposer of all things shall put a period to my present labours and pursuits.

“ The advantages we enjoy in this country are indeed very great. Here we have no poor; we never see a beggar, nor is there a family in want. We have no church establishment, and hardly any taxes. This particular state pays all its officers from a treasure in the public funds. There are very few crimes committed, and we travel without the least apprehension of danger. The press is perfectly free, and I hope we shall always keep out of war.

“ I do not think there ever was any country in a state of such rapid improvement as this at present; but we have not the same advantages for literary and philosophical pursuits that you have in Europe, though even in this respect we are every day getting better. Many books are now printing here, but what scholars chiefly want are old books, and these are not to be had.—We hope, however, that the troubles of Europe will be the cause of sending us some libraries, and they say that it is an ill wind that blows no profit.

“ I sincerely wish, however, that your troubles were at an end, and from our last accounts we think there must be a peace, at least from the impossibility of carrying on the war.

“ With every good wish to my country and to yourself, I am, dear sir,

“ Your's sincerely,

“ J. PRIESTLEY.”*

M.—, *Birmingham.*

* This letter the reader will find answered in the Rush-Light No. V. Vol. XI.

The following Spanish verses, with the liberal translation that follows them, were sent me on the marriage of Yrujo, the Spanish Minister, who was just then wedded to the eldest daughter of M'KEAN, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, who, with his daughter and family were Presbyterians.

S O N E T O.

Tocayo ! quién te puso en la cabeza
De tomar *Dulcinea* ? crees que tu mano
A Roma convirtió esta Belleza,
Mas que su Padre sea presbiteriano ?

Vaya ! tonto no seas ; la ligereza
Castellana calcula siempre en vano
Lo que no puede ser, y con fineza
Hace burla de ti el Viejo insano.

Por ser linda y tu feo, se que los zelos
Dispertaríanse en ti, mas ten cuidado
Que *encierros* no hay a qui, sino desvelos.

En quanto a mí, dire, quericlo Irujo,
Sev lastima que el Ciel haya formado
Un Pisaverde de un *exemplar Cartujo*.

Cierto es que este Trato
Si plata no te da, te proporciona
Por Suegro y Protector Poncio Pilato.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Tocayo !* who put in thy head
To marry *Dulcinea* ? dost thou believe that thy hand
Turned this beauty a Roman,
Notwithstanding her father being a Presbyterian ?

Come ! do not be a fool—Spanish inbecility
Calculates always in vain
On what cannot be, and cunningly
The old crazy Man maketh fun of thee.

* A Namesake.

The being handsome and those ugly. I know that
 Thou shalt become zealous, but mind
 That no locking up wives is allowed here, but only to
 [watch them.

For my part I'll say, friend Irujo,
 That it is a pity Heaven should have made
 A Coxcomb out of an exemplary Monk.*

It is certain, however, that this transaction
 If it brings thee no money, it gives thee
 Pontius Pilatus for thy father in law and protector.

What sort of a couple this was, the reader may
 guess at from the following anecdote, which, though
 drawn by the hand of a farmer, is a most striking
 picture of a *Spanish Ambassador* and the *Daughter*
of a Republican Judge.

“*Frankford*,” (a little village near Philadelphia)
July 23d, 1798.

“MR. PORCUPINE,

“This morning, two of the Spanish Ambassador's
 coach horses accidentally got into a clover lot of
 Mr. Samuel Griffith's, who in an amicable manner
 gave him information of the same, and requested
 him to send one of his men for them; he in an arbitrary
 manner told Mr. Griffith, that he turned them
 himself, which was actually false; in the mean
 time himself and one of his footmen being employed
 about getting a mare out of his pasture from
 one of his horses, which was continually running
 after her; at length they got them parted, and put
 the horse in the stable, and immediately his lady
 with a most horrid bawl, said Chevalier, give
 her a most infernal beating, that she may never
 come back again. Mr. Thomas H. Griffith, at the
 same time called to the footman, and told him, that

* Alluding to his having been once a Novice.

if he did not come shortly and turn the horses out of his father's inclosure, that he would turn them into the highway; the lady replied, What's that? Continued Mr. H. Griffith, send Barney to turn the horses out of the clover, or I will turn them into the road; Chevalier advances to him with a staff in his hand, and said, Mr. Griffith; to which he replied, that's me, Sir, say on, and I'll hear you; to which Chevalier replied, you infamous black-guard, if you do not keep your sheep out of my place, I'll shoot them by G—d, for I saw your father open the gate at nine o'clock last night; Mr. Griffith replied, that's an infamous lye. You call me infamous, G—d d—n you? He immediately came at Mr. Griffith with his staff, drawing a sword out of it, and made a stab at him with it; he leapt off the fence where he was sitting, having no weapon of defence but a scythe whetstone, which he said he would actually hurl at his head, if it had not been for breaking the whetstone; but perceiving a singletre of the plow, he laid hold on it, and advanced at the Chevalier, who making several stabs with his sword at Mr. Griffith, who defending himself with his comical weapon of war, received no harm; the lady coming to them, said, d—n you, we will have you in gaol to morrow; for don't you know that a minister's person and property is sacred? to which Mr. Griffith said, he did not care, for he was not a going to be murdered by him, if he was sacred; but I suppose, said he, if you could tear off my wig, and throw it across the road, you would be satisfied; but we are in a *free country*, and therefore you shall not trample my wig in the mud, Madam.*

* The farmer alludes, here, to the feats of the *mother* of the Ambassador's lady, who very often diverted herself with the judge's wig, especially when the old man was drunk.

The following character of *Mifflin*, Governor of Pennsylvania, was handed me by one of his associates in the rebellion.

“That Tone, the tinker, should exert himself to cause the American cockade to be taken down, was a thing of course; it is part of the insignia of a soldier, and the contemptible wretch must feel himself upbraided by every circumstance which reminds him of a profession, for which he never possessed any other qualification than that of haranguing recruits from the head of a hoghead.

“That his * * * * * should instigate to this measure was as natural, as it was necessary to the cause of his employers. The monster who, for about twice the number of pieces that Judas betrayed our Saviour, could *swear to the prostitution of his own mother*, must desire to degrade whatever is virtuous or dignified, whether it relate to his mother country, or to that which has been so unfortunate as to adopt him.”

The younger brother of this lady called his mother an old b—h, during the summer of 1798, while they resided at the house of SNYDER, a miller, in my neighbourhood. I had the account from the old miller himself, who appeared to be much shocked at the scandalous brawls in the family of his lodger!

The English reader will be apt to form erroneous conjectures from facts like these, unless I put him on his guard. He will, naturally enough, conclude, that, in a country, where a chief justice's family acted thus, the common people must be destitute of all kind of decency, and that the lowest rank of all must consist of mere devils in human shape. But, such a conclusion would be very unjust. It must always be recollected, that the worst people in America, are those that are in power. This is one of the inevitable effects of a democratical government.

The

The following article, like most of the others under this head, was never published before. It was put off till a long time after it was communicated, because the charge was too serious for me to bring forward in print, without previously satisfying myself that it was well founded, which I did, at last, but it was then too late to publish the article in a newspaper. It is now put on record here as an anecdote, the truth of which I had a good opportunity of ascertaining, and which I was fully convinced of.

“FOR PORCUPINE’S GAZETTE.

“Three Judges there are in N***** county,
I heard that Fred’ Evans bribed for a good bounty,
To decide in his favour, a certain law case.
Upon trying a fourth, he spit in his face.
And if any deny, and say it’s not true,
Adney Evans’s my author, I give him to you;
Who on the 3d. of March, in the year 99,
Asserted the fact, so it’s no tale of mine.
On a Gentleman’s telling him he did not think
That Montgomery judges would decide false for chink,
Adney Evans thought so, and he did say
I think they would not, except judge M*****.”

WM. P. LAW.

“Reader, this is a certain fact, as related by Mr. Adney Evans, who in my, and the presence of three other gentleman on the date above, asserted that his relation Frederick Evans, having a law-suit pending, said, that he (Frederick Evans) had bribed three of the judges of the court of N***** county, and further said, that he had offered a bag containing 500 dollars to another of the judges; but instead of coinciding, he (the judge) spit in his face. Now, citizens, if this is a fact, why not expel all such unjust judges from their seat or place of office and trust, and crown the uncorrupted one with

with honour more weighty, if any office more weighty can be found ; but if it is a false assertion of Mr. Evans's (in order to create disturbances, animosities, and confusion in the state, government, private families; and to prejudice and traduce private characters, to gain some latent advantage) he ought to suffer the torture of Genoa, as did the parricides in France some years ago ; but, if it is a truth, I think the hottest hell ought to be their portion ; and may I never enter eternal happiness, if I would not freely execute their direful sentence with the greatest cheerfulness if no other executioner could be found, rather than such foul, vile, and diabolical proceedings should be carried on to the manifest injury of all good men ; nay, the very heathens would not suffer such proceedings to go unpunished ; for I would fain ask any rational person, what security he had for his property, if men who are placed in that high station, are to be corrupted by a temporary aid of a few dollars ? I also wish to be informed what greater curse ever can befall a people than to suffer unrighteous judgment in the land ? There is not a highwayman, nor any other atrocious villain, would have any thing to fear from the law, if they could only offer a large sacrifice of gold upon the altar of justice, (or rather injustice), nay, all men would immediately sink into a state of barbarism, a confusion, if such things are winked at : the strong would soon devour the weak people, and the very devils would laugh to see such an hubbub kicked up to our utter ruin and extermination. For as Milton very justly observed in his poem of *Paradise Lost*, Satan was very envious at seeing our first parents in their happy state of innocence ; and no wonder if he tries all in his power to corrupt our morals in order to set us one against another to kill and persecute each other, and what greater persecution can there happen than to suffer the weak to
be

oppressed by the strong? Now if I was in favour with any judge of the land, and had a trial pending, whether for debt, or life and death, and he was to decide in my favour through motives of friendship or other sinister views, what am I to expect from his judgment when he changes his mind and becomes my enemy? and I do most solemnly declare that if any judge was to give a charge (for that has great weight oftentimes with a jury) for or against me through bribery, I would be the first to oppose him and bring him to that punishment which his demerits deserve; on the other hand, if any man was to traduce and vilify my reputation, (were I a judge of a court of law), I would if innocent of the charge, bring the aggressors to punishment, and I think it is a circumstance which ought to be looked into, for if they are guiltless, they have nothing to fear; but if otherwise, the people have the bad effect to feel in all its horrors, and I hope the hon. judges will be able to extricate themselves and free themselves from such vile reports, for it weakens the hands of government, and totally subverts all good order if such practices are winked at; now some will be apt to say, I publish this because of different sentiments in politics; but I do assure you it is no such thing, for I don't know any of the persons accused. As to politics I care nothing about them, for I am an Englishman by birth, but an enemy to all oppression let it be committed by whom it will, for none were ever more opposed to tyranny than myself, and if judges are allowed to be bribed, I think it has a tendency to oppression and tyranny in the greatest extreme."

"W^M. P. LAW."

"*Montgomery County.*"

The

The foregoing article not appearing in the paper, led the writer to address himself to me again. In his second communication, in order to remove all doubts as to his willingness to support his charge, he gives me (as will be seen below) his place of abode as well as his name. Indeed, I afterwards found him to be a very respectable man.

*“ Worcester Township, Montgomery County,
March 27th, 1799.*

“ SIR,

“ On the 8th instant, I brought a piece to your office for publication, respecting Adney Evans’s assertion of his cousin Frederick Evans’s bribing three of the judges of N***** county; but from its not appearing in the papers, I suppose you have either forgotten it, or have been doubtful of its truth; I assure you, it is a true statement as related by Adney Evans, and I am willing to hazard the consequence of its publication; and you will very much oblige me if you will publish it as soon as you can, for though I am neither Democrat nor Aristocrat, *but an Englishman, and I always love to see justice done to all men,** whether in public or private life, for if the judges are guilty, they ought to be expelled from office as soon as possible, and if innocent, the slanderer ought to be

* There is no branch of government on which an Englishman, both from habit and the natural turn of his mind, sets so much value, and watches so narrowly, as the *judiciary*. And, in fact, no reasonable man expects *liberty*, real liberty, from any other source. When the courts of justice are corrupted, all true freedom is at an end.

punished ; when I called at your house, you were engaged with company, and I was desired to call next morning ; but, from the badness of the weather, and other business, I was prevented ; and, whatever may be the consequence of its publication, I am willing to risk it at any rate ; therefore, Sir, I hope you will publish it both in the town and country papers.

“ I am,

“ SIR,

“ Yours, &c.

“ WM. PARRIN LAW.”

“ To Mr. WM. COBBETT, }
 “ *Philadelphia.*” }

Mr. COBBETT.—By publishing the following in your Gazette, you will oblige many labouring under difficulties.

“ BANK DIRECTORS.

“ The evident inconveniencies to which a number of the merchants of established credit, character, and property, are reduced, from the repeated disappointments experienced by them in the Banks, on whom they depend for their occasional accommodations to meet engagements, are of a nature, no less serious, than oppressive to the honest industrious fair traders ; at the same time, that a line of conduct, embarrassing to those engaged in commerce, tends to favour the unrelenting usurious train of harpies and connections, well known to be ruinous to numbers, to the manifest disgrace of the country, and of the institutions from whom they receive encouragement.

“ This

“This being notorious, and a well established fact, it cannot be deemed forward, nor improper in any person, interested in the happiness of the city, to call the attention of the Directors to the causes and complaints, which, in their consequences, must be destructive to the happiness of both merchants and many others.

“That causes do exist, to justify the strongest suspicions of secret influence, and a glaring partiality in the management of the Banks, can scarcely admit of a doubt; especially, if any stress, or dependance can be placed on common opinion, and the freedom with which the subject is treated and talked of, it is nevertheless known, and understood well, that there are Gentlemen in the Direction of each of the Banks, not only independent, but too tenacious of their honour, to countenance, or overlook abuses, had they come to their knowledge.

“The Banks, with the funds they possess, are more than competent, under proper regulations, to give ample support to the merchants, if conducted to give facility to commerce and agriculture only, without favour, or friendship, and in conformity to the actual original intention and object of the establishments.

“But the avarice of certain characters, and of their partisans combined, forming a system, at an early period, (both shameful and disgraceful) to encourage a train of Stock-jobbers, Speculators, Usurers, and their Agents, as their customers in the Banks, under one pretext or other, rendered it impossible to do justice to the trust. Such has been the encouragement and influence they have had, that the accommodations of merchants (not immediately connected with one or more of the Directors), were at times dealt out but sparingly, unless obtained through a Director, by a previous application; a most distressing and mortifying situation this in-

deed ! to men of character and property, useful in their line, to be reduced to the necessity of soliciting favours, and frequently disappointed by a decided preference to Speculators and Usurers, although the Directors could not be ignorant, nor blind, to the use those harpies employed the monies they had been supplied with.

“There can be no hesitation therefore, to suspect, that the advocates for this usurious and dangerous tribe, in particular, must be interested, and the instruments of the ruin to numbers, more useful in their honourable pursuits, than the bloodsuckers alluded to.

“The frequent Bankruptcies, that have taken place for years, may, with truth, be imputed to this horde of harpies, and their agents—The Directors may attempt to vindicate their conduct ; but they cannot contend, that a pointed partiality, to a group of Usurers and connections, can have the tendency to give greater security and dignity to the institutions under their management, than the merchants, traders, and farmers can give.

“In England, the Change-alley gentry are avowedly guarded against, *as well as their Brokers*, and precluded from a credit in the Bank ; and, moreover, the instant it is discovered that any of the merchants are reduced to the necessity of having recourse to Usurers, for anticipation, their Bank accounts (if they have any), are closed, and their credit immediately stopped.

“The laws of England, to discourage and punish Usurers, are just, and rigidly enforced, to protect and encourage commerce, and the industrious part of the community.—But, the ascendancy and influence of Usurers, their agents, and secret connections in Philadelphia, seems to have thrown the whole profitable trade of the City, into the hands of their Brokers ; and so independent and distinguished
in

in their profession, that they publicly boast of having it in their power to regulate Bank elections; if so, (and what is scarcely to be doubted, from the circuitous intercourse they have in the Banks) is it not high time, that those of the Directors, unconnected in this infamous line, should trace out the channels and sources of their support and influence, too long practised, to the manifest injury of thousands, and even disgraceful and dangerous to the solidity of Government?

“A CITIZEN.”

“16th May, 1799.”

TO THE PUBLIC*.

“JOHN PEARSON,

“When I enter into controversy with you, or any one, who will take his neighbour's hogs; and who, when the owner meets him on the highway, and demands his property, will (in his official capacity of a Justice of the Peace, “*chosen by the good Whigs*”) immediately assault and beat him, I consider myself as not opposed on equal grounds. For drunkenness, and many other such like *virtues*, that cause ulcerated eyes, (that you, Pearson, are disfigured with either, from ***** , or some other causes, which you are best able to inform,) I think, as well as many other of my fellow-citizens, the application

* ELLIOTT the signer of this advertisement, was, at the time of his writing it, and is yet, a *Justice of the Peace*, in a village called DARLY, about seven miles from Philadelphia. PEARSON was also a *Justice of the Peace*, at the time, and is now (1800) a SENATOR of the State of Pennsylvania!!!—A Democratical State, is like a boiling pot: the scum always swims on the top of it.

of mercury ought, as soon as possible, to be applied; for, the consequences may prove fatal. My character has never yet been so far discussed, as to have a pecuniary value set upon it; yours, in the highest courts of Pennsylvania, after a free and full discussion, has been determined to be worth seventeen pounds, ten shillings; and that too, by a good and lawful jury of your country, and to whom you had made the appeal. You were charged of being the advocate of slavery, the oppressor of the poor (don't cry, wipe your eyes, the medicine shall be given gratis, Pearson); you were charged with being the promoter of riots, the devoted advocate of a faction, the violator of your oath of office, and a public example of intemperance to the youth.—After taking into consideration the additional claim for the loss of office, as well as character, the whole ended in a fine of seventeen pounds, ten shillings——To the aspersions of such a fellow, it is proper to reply, “cease Viper, you bite against
“a File.”

“ISRAEL ELLIOTT.”

“*Philadelphia, March 25th, 1797.*”

HARPER, the late member of Congress, has rendered himself somewhat famous in America, and, *with the help of friends*, in England also. His pamphlet, which made such a noise, shall be spoken of more fully hereafter; at present, I only mention it, in order to refer to a passage in the beginning of it, where he has the *candour* to confess, that he was, at the commencement of the French Revolution, a friend to that accursed event. This instance of *candour* was highly applauded by me, as well as by others; but, now that it is known, that he *dared not deny* his Jacobinism, and when it is
recollected,

recollected, that he was upwards of *thirty years old*, when he actually *petitioned* to become a Jacobin, we may be allowed to doubt of his sincerity and candour.

The following letter, addressed to HARPER, by a French Jacobin of Charleston, will show that the gentleman was somewhat zealous in the cause. The Frenchman's language is truly ludicrous; but it conveys a truth very disgraceful to Harper, who seems to have been seduced from the Jacobin Club, by the good dinners, and gay parties of the merchants of Philadelphia.—But, let us hear CITIZEN DESVERNEY.

“CHARLESTON, (S. C.) *Feb. 25, 1798.*

“DESVERNEY, native of France, un nom republicain, fidelle to his country, Citizen of Amerique, and Gunsmith in Charleston, prays to demand two or three questions of

ROB. G. HARPER, *Member of Congress.*

“I have seen the poisonous venom of your printed letter, by your criminal attempt like a scorpion without his sting, to wound my native country France, and her brave defenders, the Generals Moreau, Bonaparte, and all our brave armies. Why, you call them robbers, plunderers, celerats that make war on their enemy, invade his territory, not to make him sorry or give him repentance; but as you criminally say, to rob, to plunder, as one pirate, corsair, brigand. Ah! Ah! Ah!——You, one time with me, one member of the French jacobin Society, at the Hotel of Citizen Harris, in Charleston, on the bay.—Au diable soit telle perfidie, Ah! ah!

“Make me one reponse, one answer, did not you enter as one member of the Jacobin, or French

Societe Patriotique in Charleston, in 1793 ; did you write one letter to that my societe, praying for the honor to be received as one member ; that letter, was it delivered to the President by one good republican ?—Yes, yes ; I make answer for you, as you have the too much double face to make response for yourself. Yes, you write that letter in your writing hand. Les gens de loi, de loier, know your writing. Let any body come, judge, and see, if Desverney speak veritablement.

“Your letter is very bad French, translated by my friend, de cette sorte.”

“Citizens, President and Members of the French Patriotic Society of Charleston,

“Circumstances have hindered me from applying sooner, for the participation of the honour and advantages which must result to the friends of liberty, from such a society as yours. Not being able to come myself, I have paid my hall upon the subject, and flatter myself, that I shall meet your approbation, and obtain the honour of admission. He will bring you my good wishes and affection for you.

“I am, with most perfect respect,

“Your most humble servant,

“ROB. G. HARPER.”

“To the Citizen President
of the French Patriotic
Society.” }

The following is an Extract from the Journals of the Society.

“27th May, 1793.

“La Seance Ouverte. The society being open, Citizen Harper having made application to the society

ciety by letter, signifying his desire of being admitted a member, his letter was read agreeably to usage, and verification made, he was unanimously admitted."

"After this, you entered the chamber, where we sat, you was presented to the President, and, after this, you was one Jacobin, imperieux in the club. Did you know, hear, and approve of our memorial to the head Jacobin Society at Paris, praying our Society at Charleston might be admitted to affiliation to that at Paris? Do you know any thing of this memorial? Make me one reponse for this. Where was you on the night of the 18th October, 1793? Were you in the Jacobin Club, elected Vice-President, in the absence of the President? Does not this appear on the journal of that night? Are you not an ingrate; because, after republican have been heaping such honours on you, for yourself have owned it was doing you great honour, yet you have entirely forgot the obligation and turned as violent an enemy to my country, as if you was un mercenaire, satellite of that scelerat, the Duke of Brunswick. Is not this double face in you now to turn ci-devant patriot of France, and vomit upon us and our country such malignite, as if you was un venale instrument of the malice of our confederate enemies. Has any one of the French Society proved himself as a deserter from the cause of liberty, but you? Have the other members of the club, whose names I shall mention, who you loved so sincerely, and called by the word *Citizen*? Did they change as you did? Has citizen Peignier, the Hair-dresser, shewn a double face? Has citizen Paris, our baker; citizen Pencil, the tinman; citizens Anthony and sadler; Dubard, the hair-dresser; Olman, the maker of patees, or cakes; Audin, the scene-painter; Martin, the taylor; Maziere, the barber, and citizen Sudie, the maker of segars
for

for our city ; have they not proved themselves republicans—I also include myself in the number of those resolute republicans, while you turned traitor to France, and an aristocrat to serve your own purpose ; I give this notice, *that you are now expelled the society, as an unworthy member, and also inform you, that not one of our society will ever again honour you with the name of Citizen, as we used to do.*

“ PETER FRANCIS DESVERNEY,”

“ *Gunsmith.*”

As a proof that CITIZEN HARPER was in good earnest, and that he was looked upon as being, in some measure worthy of his calling, I insert the following advertisement, taken from a Charleston paper of the 4th June, 1793.

“ TO THE PUBLIC.

“ The great sacrifices which the republic of France is daily making, and the blood which she has already shed, and which she will not cease to shed until she has established on a firm basis, her own liberty, and that of both hemispheres, are known to all the world.—Freemen, who are sensible that the sublime cause of France is the cause of all who love liberty, will easily penetrate the motives which induce the French Patriotic Society of Charleston, to solicit donations in behalf of their suffering fellow-citizens in Europe. Contributions, either in *produce* or money, will be thankfully received, and faithfully applied, and the names of the contributors made public. The society have authorized the undernamed citizens to receive the freewill offerings of the inhabitants of this state, and the society invites and requests all who wish well to the cause of
France

France to deposit what they may think proper to give, in the hands of the citizens

1. M. A. B. MANGOURIT,

Consul of the French Republic.

2. DAVID RAMSAY,*

3. JOHN LEWIS GARVIS,†

4. ROBERT G. HARPER,

5. GAYETAN AIGUIER,

By order of the Society,

FRANCIS MEURICE, President,

JACQUES LAMBERT RANSIER, Vice-president, ‡

GAYETAN AIGUIER, Secretary."

HARPER was, as I said before, seduced from the arms of the Jacobins by the good tables of the merchants of Philadelphia, which place he liked so very well, that he never thought of returning to Carolina, except for the purpose of being re-elected. This attachment to the *viandes* of the Aristocrats produced in him a desire of forming a *settlement* amongst them; for, though between thirty and forty years old, he had, as yet, never had either house or home. He now gave it out, that he intended to make Philadelphia the place of his residence, and, unfortunately for me, he was *admitted to the bar* during the summer of 1797.

* This DAVID RAMSEY, who was President of the Senate of S. Carolina, is the very same malignant wretch, who wrote a most false account of the American Revolution.

† GARVIS was Commissioner of accounts for the State of S. Carolina.

‡ This fellow was a *locksmith*.

His conduct, in the cause of RUSH against me, is universally known, and as universally execrated in America. Harper is totally insignificant in England, or I would explain in this place, what his conduct in Rush's affair was. For the information of Americans, I shall, however, state a few facts, that they are not at present acquainted with.

Harper is under greater obligations to me than to any man, or set of men in the world, his silly Carolinian constituents not excepted. His famous *speeches*, which he always *wrote out* for the press, cost me not less than two hundred pounds extraordinary expense, which was a dead loss to me. People accused me of writing these speeches myself, of which I was not, to say the truth, altogether innocent. I dictated alterations, and, in some instances, I made them myself. Of the pamphlet, which gained him so much renown in England, and which was quoted with high encomiums in both houses of parliament, I *furnished the materials, gave the hints, drew the plan*, and if my name had been put to the work, I should not have been so much of a plagiarist as he was. While LORD GRENVILLE was extolling this pamphlet in one house, and MR. DUNDAS, in the other house of parliament; while they were paying such a handsome tribute to the talents, candour and integrity of the Honourable Member of the American Congress, they little imagined that that Honourable Member was the mere puppet of an English clown!

Further: after this pamphlet had been so applauded in England, and after the English applauses had been echoed and re-echoed through America, the author (I mean Harper) thought that the world ought to be favoured with a new edition. He had in order to disguise the real source of the
pamphlet,

pamphlet, given the copy-right to BRADFORD of Philadelphia, who refused to publish a new edition at his own *risk*, and also refused to give Harper leave to do it! In this dilemma there was nothing to do but to *purchase* the copy-right, which Harper agreed to do with a note of hand for *two hundred dollars*, provided *I would pay the note when it became due*. This was done, I republished the pamphlet, and *lost the two hundred dollars with about one hundred more at the back of them!* Still I did not repine. I was convinced, that the pamphlet did great good to both countries, and great injury to France, which far outweighed, with me, all the dollars in the world.

From HARPER's first acquaintance with me, in 1796, to the end of 1799, he had an account running on in my books, but never did he pay, or offer to pay, or talk of paying me a farthing in his life. After the cause of Rush was decided, I sent him in his bill for goods delivered to him, amounting to about two hundred dollars, from which he deducted *sixty* dollars, as a *fee* for having not only basely abandoned my cause, but for having done all in his power to effect my ruin!—The Americans will, from this statement, know how to estimate the character of this adventurer: the English reader will learn more about him from the Rush-Lights and the preceding papers, in Vol. X. and XI.

SERGEANT, the man named in the following papers, is a lawyer of Philadelphia, and son of a most bitter and malignant old Whig, who was also a lawyer, and who acted a very conspicuous part in persecuting the quakers and other loyalists. The son is worthy of the sire. He is noted as a bully. and that he ought to be as noted for baseness will now be made appear.

“ Being

" Being in company on the evening of the 15th of May 1799, with several gentlemen—viz. Captain Simons, Mr. William Jones of Market-street, Mr. John Cross, a Mr. Mott, Mr. Richard Tybout, and some others, at the house of Mr. Lewis Young, W. Sergeant, Esq. came also in ; the conversation turned upon the assault and battery that had taken place upon the person of the editor of the Aurora. Mr. Sargeant said it was a d—d rascally thing, and signified that there would be some duelling on the occasion ; some of the company hoped not, that Mr. Duane would no doubt have recourse to the law, and prosecute the offenders to the utmost. To the law, exclaimed Mr. Sargeant, what signifies the law, or the punishment the law may inflict. If I, continued he, had transgressed in this way, I might be punished by the law, but they will not ; no, they are a d—d set of rascals, and may I be d—d to h—l, if I would not this night head a mob, to burn the houses of every d—d son of a b—h of them. Some of the company hoped Mr. Sargeant would not be so imprudent as they, by taking vengeance in his own hand ; he, I think, repeated the above expressions a second time, and then seemed to cool off in some sort, and soon after retired".*

" DEAR SIR,

" It is a duty I owe myself, as well as the officers of the different companies of cavalry, on the expedition to Northampton, to make the following statement,

* This certificate, which was signed by one of the company, was shown to SERGEANT, who was threatened with chastisement, unless he apologized for his conduct, which threat produced, as the reader will see, its proper effect.

" That

"That I had repeatedly in private conversation, reprobated the conduct of the editor of the Aurora, in inserting several pieces which arraigned the conduct of the different troops on the expedition, unless it should be founded on truth "as strong as Holy Writ," that truth does not exist, nor in my opinion has it ever,

"The statement of my conversation at Young's, on Wednesday evening, may be correct; the fact is, I had bad company with me the whole of the afternoon of that day, had drank a good deal of wine, and was not at the time this conversation took place, in a situation, that any thing I said could have been intentionally offensive or injurious to the character of the different gentlemen.

"*As a Gentleman and man of Honour*, I make this declaration, and trust that it will be considered as sufficient,

" I am,

" Dear SIR,

" With respect,

" Yours, &c.

" W. SERGEANT.*

" 1795, May 17, }
 " MR. ROSS." }

The following article is inserted in another part of this work; but I think proper to give it a double chance of meeting the eye.

* This apology was accepted of, with a promise, that it should be *kept secret*; but I got hold of it, and I was bound by no such promise.

SPITTING RECORD.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight (the close of "the *enlightened* eighteenth century"), one MATTHEW LYON, an Irishman and a furious Democrat, was sent to Philadelphia, by the *enlightened* republicans of Vermont, to represent them in the Congress there assembled. That, on the thirtieth day of January, in the *enlightened* year aforesaid, the said LYON did, in the Congress Hall, while the House was in actual session, *spit* the nauseous slime from his jaws into the face of ROGER GRISWOLD, a member from Connecticut. AND FURTHER, that the said LYON, in justifying his said conduct, did (he begin then speaking before and to the House) utter these words: "kicked in "the *a—e*," meaning thereby the posteriors, or hinder parts, of him the said LYON.

In consequence of this *decent* conduct and *polite* language, so highly honourable to democracy and to the enlightened century aforesaid, a resolution was offered for expelling the said *Spitter* from the House. That an inquiry took place, in which it was proved that he, the said LYON from Vermont, was during the American war cashiered by GENERAL GATES, for deserting his post.

AND BE IT FURTHER REMEMBERED, That NICHOLAS of Virginia, WILLIAMS of North Carolina, SMITH of Baltimore, GALLATIN of Geneva, LIVINGSTON of New-York, and several others (all of them of the democratic party), did actually make and utter speeches in favour of the aforesaid LYON. That the resolution, after *fourteen* days spent thereon, was put to the vote, when there appeared *fifty-two* for expulsion, and *forty-four* against it; and that, as the Constitution requires a majority of two-thirds to expel a member, the
said

said LYON, of course, was *not expelled*, but kept his seat in the Congress as before.

AND BE IT FURTHER REMEMBERED, That, some few days after this decision took place; to wit, on the fifteenth day of February, in the year aforesaid, the said ROGER did, in the said House of Representatives, bestow on the carcass of the said LYON a rib-roasting, such as never saluted the hide of *Southern slave*, of *Sancho Pancho*, or of the famous ROSINANTE; and which was supported by the said LYON, with lamb-like patience, though not without some *roaring*.

And whereas, it is just, that the said *forty-four* men who voted in favour of the said LYON, and by whose means he was kept in the said Congress, should be made known to their constituents, and to the universe, and also that the memory of their conduct should be perpetuated, and handed down to their children, if, perchance, they may have any; to these ends their names with the States they represent, are hereunder enregistered: to wit:

Massachusetts.

Virginia.

Nathaniel Freeman, jun.

Walter Jones

Thompson J. Skinner

Anthony New

Joseph B. Varnum

John Nicholas

New-York.

Abraham Trigg

Lucas Elmendorf

John Trigg

Jonathan N. Havens

Abraham Venable

Edward Livingston

N. Carolina.

Philip Van Cortlandt

Thomas Blount

Pennsylvania.

Nathan Bryan

David Bard

James Gillespie

William Findley

Matthew Locke

Albert Gallatin

Nathaniel Macon

Andrew Gregg

Joseph M'Dowell

John A. Hanna

Richard Stanford

Blair M'Clenachan

Robert Williams

Maryland.

Samuel Smith
Richard Sprigg, jun.

Virginia.

Richard Brent
Samuel J. Cabell
Thomas Clairborne
Matthew Clay
John Clopton
John Dawson
William B. Giles
Carter B. Harrison

S. Carolina.

Lemuel Benton
William Smith
Thomas Sumpter

Georgia.

Abraham Baldwin
John Milledge

Kentucky.

John Fowler

Tennessee.

Wm. Ch. Cole Clairborne

N. B. This *William Smith* of South Carolina, is not the *William Smith*, who for many years, represented Charleston District, and who has since been sent Ambassador to Portugal.

Amongst the greatest of the evils, which republicanism, and its attendant notions of equality, of lenity, and of insubordination, have introduced into the American States, is, *the prevalent disregard of the matrimonial tie*. In most of the States the *law of divorce* has been to altered, and the penalty attached to the crimes of bigamy and polygamy so softened, in practice, at least, that the marriage ceremony and obligation are nearly become matters of form, resorted to, merely (in compliance with a custom) as the means of gratifying, without scandal, that appetite which is common to most of the human race.

Out of the *facility* of obtaining divorces has grown their *frequency*, which has, in its turn, produced *separations* and *elopements* in such numbers, that the breaking up of a family, from either of these causes, is, at last, scarcely ever regarded as a matter of reproach or of shame to the parties, who seldom

seldom appeal even to the *law*, or seek for any sanction of their breach of the most sacred of all engagements, except perchance, an advertisement in a newspaper, or in the form of a hand-bill !

While I published a paper in Philadelphia, I was in the habit of receiving newspapers from many towns and villages in the United States, in which the advertisements of the sort above-mentioned, were so thickly sown, that, once out of curiosity, I directed one of my people to cut out all such advertisements that we received, in the several papers, in the course of *one month*. He cut them out accordingly, and pasted them upon a slip of paper, close under each other. At the end of the month, the slip reached from the ceiling to the floor of a room more than ten feet high, and contained one hundred and twenty-three advertisements. We did not receive, at most, more than a twentieth part of the newspapers published in the United States; and, if a calculation be made from these facts, it will be found, that there were about twenty-five thousand divorces, separations and elopements in a year: a calculation, which, I am certain, is very far within bounds!

From this curious slip of paper, which I have still in my possession, I shall here select a few advertisements, as specimens.

“ WHEREAS Deborah, that wicked wife of the subscriber, has eloped from my bed and board—This is to caution all persons from trusting or harbouring her on my account, as I shall pay no debts of her contracting—As she has asserted that she loves other men better than she does me; and has repeatedly slept with other men since she has been married, and says she will again.

“ PHILIP CHESLEY.”

“ *Northwood, Feb. 20, 1798.*”

“ WHEREAS, I the subscriber, for certain reasons, think it my incumbent duty for my own safety, and to preserve my property, to forbid all persons trusting and trading with EUNICE PRINCE, my wife, now living in *Plymouth*, in the county of *Plymouth*—as I am determined not to pay any debts of her contracting in future.

“ JAMES PRINCE.”

“ *Plymouth, Feb. 7, 1798.*”

“ I the subscriber, being troubled with a *tyrannical* companion, who, fearing I shall leave him, has thought proper to forbid any person trusting me on his account, (which I should have thought he would not have presumed to do)—as I know of no property he possesses, except my own, and that no person in *Plymouth* would trust me on his account. I think it proper as I have children depending on me for support, and wish to keep what little interest I have, to forbid any person trusting my husband, *James Prince*, on my account, as I will not pay any debts he may contract after this date.

“ EUNICE PRINCE.”

“ *Plymouth, Feb. 7, 1798.*”

“ WHEREAS my wife Elizabeth, has repeatedly deserted my family, and for this some years past, has not conducted herself as a wife towards me, and has now left my bed and board without any reason whatever, and refuses to return to my family after many intreaties—this is, therefore, to forewarn all persons from contracting with, or trusting her on my account, as I am determined not to pay any such demands.

“ HENRY CUNNINGHAM.”

“ *February 19, 1798.*”

“ In

"IN consequence of an advertisement in the *AURORA* by my husband (FRANCIS MONON) I hereby declare to the public that his conduct as a *Man*, it being his request, together with ill treatment at divers times, was the cause of our divorce; therefore caution the public against crediting him on my account, as I will not pay any debts of his contracting from this date.

"PHEBE MONON."

"*Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1798.*"

"WHEREAS my wife Mary has absconded from my bed and board, and behaved herself in a very unbecoming manner, and taken away my property, at sundry times; I therefore forewarn all persons trusting her on my account, after this date.

"JOHN COOK."

"*Philadelphia, Feb. 11, 1798.*"

"WHEREAS ASENETH WHITNEY, my wife, has eloped from my bed and board, with two small children. I here, in these lines, forbid all persons harbouring her, or trusting her upon my account; for I will not pay any debts of her contracting from this date.

"WHITNEY."

"*Westminster, (Massa.) Feb. 3, 1793.*

"WHEREAS my husband William Walter, has left me since the first of April last, I take this method of informing the public, that I will not pay any debts of his contracting from that date.

"JULIET WALTER."

"*Pittsburgh, Feb. 1, 1798.*"

“ NOTICE is hereby given, That I, the subscriber, have made a dissolution with my wife, Theresa Rousseau; therefore, I shall not pay any debt contracted by her, after the date hereof.

“ CHARLES ROUSSEAU.”

“ *Baltimore, Feb. 13, 1798.*”

“ WHEREAS Jane Graham, the subscriber's wife, has absconded with a man named Hugh Fitzsimons—this is, therefore, to caution the public against trusting the said Jane on his account, as he is determined not to pay any debts of her contracting after this notice. All persons are also forbid harbouring her at their peril.

“ THOMAS GRAHAM.”

“ *Winchester, Feb. 1, 1798.*”

“ ALL persons are forbid trusting or harbouring my wife MARIA; as she refuses to live with me, I am determined nor to pay any debt she may contract.

“ ABRAHAM I. CLUTE.”

“ *Waterliet, Feb. 26, 1798.*”

“ WHEREAS my wife Elizabeth Wissman, has thought proper to endeavour to take my character away, after being parted according to law. I hereby forewarn the public not to trust her on my account, as I will not pay any debt she may contract from this date.

“ JOHN ANDREW WISSMAN.”

“ *Feb. 3, 1798.*”

To the foregoing little selection, I shall add two of a nature somewhat different. The first will
show

show with what indifference the crime of *bigamy* is regarded, and the second will furnish a specimen of Sheriff's notices in case of divorces sued for.

“WHEREAS I *entered into* marriage with a woman, whose name is Jane Coleman, supposing her a widow, and since have been informed that she has a husband living, I make known, therefore, that, as the marriage is illegal, I request all persons not to trust the said Jane Coleman on my account, as I am determined not to pay any debts of her contracting.

“JOHN PRICE.”

“*Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1798.*”

“County of Philadelphia, and Commonwealth
of Pennsylvania ss.

“ANNA BUYERS, you are notified, pursuant to an alias subpœna directed to you, and now in the hands of the Sheriff, for the city and county of Philadelphia, that you be and appear before the Honourable the Justices of the Supreme Court, in the said city, to be held at the State House, in the city of Philadelphia, on the third Monday in March next, to answer the libel of your husband Jacob Buyers, praying for a divorce from the bands of matrimony.

“JONATHAN PENROSE, Sheriff.”

The following advertisement, figure and all, just as it stands, was taken from a paper, published by Elliot and Hopkins, at a little place called Newton, in the state of New Jersey.

"ELOPEMENT !



" WHEREAS my wife ANNY, has absconded from my bed and board, without any just provocation—this is, therefore, to forbid all persons harbouring or trusting her on my account, as I am determined not to pay any debts that she may contract.

" SAMUEL WADE."

" *Walkill, Feb. 1, 1798.*"

This advertisement is the strongest possible proof of the frequency of the desolating crime of elopement. Printers, particularly in America, keep type-metal ships, houses, horses, and negroes, because they have *frequently* to advertise all these; and I leave the reader to guess at the *frequency of elopements* in that country, where the printer of a village newspaper found it worth his while to furnish his office with types, representing a woman running away from her husband!

To cap the climax, I here insert a letter, from a woman to her husband, such as I believe never was written before, and as, I hope, never will be again. I copied it myself from the original, and I here insert it without the smallest alteration. The writer meant to direct it for her husband, to *the* care of the person who received and opened it; but, by mistake, she forgot her husband, as, indeed, she seems to have done but too frequently.

" *Edenton, [N. Carolina] Feb. 10, 1799.*

" DEAR HUSBAND,

" I received your letter dated 13th of November, and am glad to hear that you are alive, for I have
often

often heard that you were dead, and I have suffered every thing but death itself, for I have lost all my friends, my mother, my sister, and all my children but Bersey, and she is a good hearty girl. Lister and his family is moved out to the back countries, and I left the most disagreeably situated of all women in the world, till I were forst to take up with Mr. Procter, and *I have got one child by him, and very heavy with another*, tho' I cant say but I should be glad to see you again, and I hope you will come and do something for your daughter, for she is the very picture of you, and your own dear temper. As for that money you wrote about, I have never received only three dollars of it, for Jones says he paid you in Norfolk five years ago, and now he has left this place, and God knows when he will come back, for I dont never expect he will see this place any more, though, perhaps, if you come forward yourself, you may do something with it. I would wish for you to come and see us all once more, but I should certainly have starved to death if Mr. Procter had not been a friend to me, and a good friend, *the best I ever had in my life*, for he has maintained me and your child, *as if we had been his own*. I have a great deal to tell you, if I could only see you face to face.

“ From your most loving Wife,

“ LYDIA SCOTT.”

*For Mr. John Scott, }
Philadelphia.*

It is not this woman's crime, in itself considered, that occupies our reflections upon the perusal of this letter; but the state of society, which produced those habits of thinking, which enabled her to speak to her husband with such perfect unconcern on such a subject. God forbid I should endeavour
to

to persuade the world, that the women in the United States of America, are *all* thus lost to every sense of religion and virtue ; God forbid I should insinuate that they are *generally* so ; but, it is my duty to show, that the degrading notions, which republicanism never fails to engender, have produced most horrible effects, and in doing this, no mode is at once so effectual and so fair as that of citing facts.

In the year 1796, a great outcry was raised in Virginia, against suffering horses to be exported to St. Domingo, for the service of the British army, which was then in that island. A formal representation was made against it to the President of the United States, by the Governor of Virginia, who represented it as a *breach of neutrality*, and who, in the mean time, prevented the horses, which the British officers had purchased, from being shipped. The true cause of this measure was this :—*The Governor had offered to these officers, two of his worn-out carriage-horses, which the officers refused to purchase, solely because they were too old and infirm.* From this moment, and not before, the Governor inveighed against the exportation as a breach of neutrality ! The officers certainly acted imprudently. They should have purchased his horses, if they had sold them for dog's meat the next hour.—But, this is always our way. We squander millions, where the prodigality does us no service, and we are ever niggardly where we may depend upon a ten-fold return. Had they been *French* officers, to whom a bargain of this sort had been offered, they would not only have purchased, but would have given a generous price.

Faithful

Faithful extracts from a talk delivered on Saturday the 2d of October 1794 to the Indians at Kanan-daigua, by TIMOTHY PICKERING, then a Commissioner to the Six Nations, since Secretary of State. The talk was sent by TIMOTHY PICKERING to Capt. BRANT, head of the nation of Mohawks.

IT will be curious to compare the sentiments of PICKERING, Commissioner in 1794, with PICKERING, Secretary in 1797.

Colonel PICKERING in the beginning of his talk exculpates himself from the reproach of vanity directed against him by the Indian Chief, CORNPLANTER, for not having consented to the admission of the English agent in the council, in these words :

“ It is not the pride of knowledge, for I have but little ; it is not the pride of understanding, for mine is moderate ; it is not the pride of eloquence, for I am an indifferent speaker.”

Mr PICKERING appears early to have formed a just appreciation of his talents.

“ You recollect the violent inflammatory speech of Lord DORCHESTER, which the British interpreted to you last Spring, at Buffalo Creek. This talk was like that of Governor SIMCOE ; he said that a war would probably take place between the British and Americans, and then the settlements in all the country here would be considered as an encroachment on the right of the king—Brothers, the speech of Lord DORCHESTER was so carefully interpreted to you in order to prepare your minds for war, and to take up the *hatchet* once more against the United States.

“ Beyond a doubt it was the intention of the King and his Counsellors to make war upon the
United

United States. And for what? we have done them no injury—brothers, since we refused to submit to their tyranny; since we threw *the king upon his back* and established our independence, they have borne us no good will. They would gladly make another attempt to involve us, and they thought a fair opportunity presented.

“I must tell you some things about the affairs on the other side of the great waters. The French whom you know, were governed by a king, his warriors assisted the Americans in their late war with the British.

“In America the French saw how we managed our affairs, that they were not directed by one man at his pleasure, but by wise counsellors we ourselves chose for the purpose. The French being an intelligent people, soon learnt how we conducted our business, and were pleased with it. When they went home, they wished to have their business managed in like manner by wise counsellors of their own choosing, and would no longer submit to the tyranny of the king. They accordingly threw him down and cut off his head; this, brothers, enraged all the neighbouring *tyrants* called Kings, and they combined together and raised great armies or regular soldiers to oblige the French again to be governed by a king.

“At that time the tyrants expected easily to subdue the French, and prevent their becoming a free people. And as the French were the only allies of the United States, the British King and his Counsellors thought this would be a good time to attack us, and once more subject us to their tyranny. In pursuit of this object Lord DORCHESTER made his inflammatory speech to the Indians, to prepare them for a general war; and SIMCOE built his forts on the Miami, and tried to break up the settlements at Green Sodos. With the same view the armed vessels

sels of the King *stole* our property on the great waters, having taken hundreds of our vessels laden with goods to the value of many hundred thousand dollars. And not content with *robbing* us of our property, they put our seamen on board their armed vessels and compelled them to fight against our *friends* the French.

"These injuries were now too great to be borne any longer. So according to the custom of the white nation, our great chief sent one of his wise counsellors to *demand satisfaction*, and it is probable he will succeed in obtaining satisfaction, and prevent a war between the British and the United States; for the mind of the king and his counsellors appear to be changed, they seemed to have dropped the unjust design of making war upon us. They have seen that all the tyrants combined against France cannot subdue them; they have seen, that the French will remain a free people, and that now it will be in vain to attempt to deprive us Americans of our liberty. The French, brothers, instead of being subdued, are now over-running the countries of the tyrants that attacked them; the French are a very great people, and on this occasion they have adopted the custom of the Indians, all their young men are become warriors, and marched against their enemies, and beat them on all sides."*

* The falsehoods that Mr. PICKERING uttered to these savages are well known to every man acquainted with the circumstances.—Let this *talk* be compared with other talks that Mr. PICKERING has since put into *writing*.

BOBBY AND THE TURKEY.

“ *Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1797.*

“ MR. PORCUPINE,

“ AS my cousin Bobby writes me, that he intends to return to Philadelphia very soon, and only waits for my advice ; I take the earliest opportunity of giving it to him, through your paper. You will therefore please to honour it with a place as soon as possible.

“ Excuse my scrawl, as I am old and very near-sighted.

“ I am,

“ Yours, &c.

“ A. B.”

My dear cousin Bob,
That terrible job
Has done you much harm, to be sure ;
And, tho' you're youth,
I only say truth,
When I tell you no time can it cure.

Such stories are told,
By the young and the old ;
E'en your daddy comes out with his d—n,
When he talks of the *pig*,
Which you meant but as gig,
While you thought the old codger to sham.

The *Turkey* also !
Oh, Bobby, 'twas low !
I am forced to say so, indeed.
What ! to go to an *Inn*,
From the larder begin
To take off the stock of poor W—d !

Had you made an attack
At the clothes on his back,
Or took from his pocket the cash,
You would not have had
Our opinions so bad
As those on the *pig* and such trash.

But

But why did not you,
 When you saw W—d pursue,
 Drop the pig and the turkey together;
 And not run away,
 Like a fox with his prey,
 Pig in one paw, and turkey in t'other?

You tell me you mean
 To return here again;
 And you ask my advice, which is this:
Keep off while you can,
For there is not a man
*In town, that know you, but would kiss.**

“FRIEND PORCUPINE,

“SEEING that thou hast taken upon thee, the important office of an impartial censor, I shall, without any further preamble, proceed to lay before thee one of the many grievances that too many unhappily labour under, and is one of the greatest evils under the sun, I mean the sun of Pennsylvania; who, by too great a plenitude of heat, or power, or in other words too free a use of prerogative, has more than once, scorched or clipped the wings of sacred liberty.—I do not in this allude to the late proclamation, because thy impartial quill hath already corrected that, but the present evil which I complain of, is, that of his creating by far too great a number of country magistrates. Every impartial person, must acknowledge that a good magistrate is an honour to society, and a useful member of the commonwealth—but an evil ruler is the pest of society, a scandal to law and justice, and destruction of peace and harmony amongst neighbours. It is a well known fact that

* This BOBBY, who was the son of a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, robbed the larder of an Innkeeper; went away for a little while, but soon returned, and has, ever since, lived in great tranquillity.

too many unqualified persons both in abilities and character, and too indolent to work, and knowing how easy it is to become a magistrate, run about with petitions from tavern to tavern, to procure signers, well knowing that no enquiry will be made into their character—who no sooner obtain the commission of the peace than they also commence barrister or bush lawyer, and set their neighbours together by the ears, for the sake of that *multum pecunia*, called *ninepence*. It is surprising to me and many others, that he does not take a hint from our excellent constitution, which allows but one representative for every thirty thousand citizens; but here, alas, in the country, here are six or seven magistrates to almost every township or district, and many more are recruiting for commissions. What the good policy of it can be, neither I or any one else can fathom, except that he wishes to fulfil the benevolent desire of St. Paul, *i. e.* to make every new magistrate a new creature; or perhaps he is ambitious to outshine Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin by making priests of Baal.—These few hints, friend Porcupine, is all that I can at present send thee, hoping that thou wilt not let this grievance escape thy notice; and, for God's sake, do not let us be scorched by the rays of a setting sun.

“Thy Friend,

“*****”

The grievance, of which my correspondent complains, is, indeed, an intolerable one. The process is precisely as he describes it. If a man is bereft of the means of an honest livelihood, either by idleness, by gaming, or by speculation, he instantly looks out for an office, and he absolutely goes from one hedge-tavern to another to obtain signatures to a petition

tition to the Governor (in Pennsylvania) to appoint him a *Justice of the Peace* ! There is no bounds set to the Governor's authority, in these appointments. No *qualifications* are necessary, but such as are requisite to get the good wishes of a few haunters of taverns (all public houses are so called), which are far from being such qualifications as are requisite in a magistrate. The number of these nine-penny justices, who have the decision in the last resort, of all disputes of debt to a very considerable amount, has been rapidly increasing ever since the rebellion, till the evil is become almost unbearable. The moment these illiterate and unprincipled wretches receive the commission of the peace, they assume the title of *Esquire*, which their shoeless wives and children bestow on them on all occasions. It is not at all uncommon to see a 'Squire as ragged as a colt ; and I remember one, who exercised his functions as Justice of the Peace in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and who not unfrequently attended the market of that city as a retailer of greens and potatoes. These circumstances would be amusing enough, it would be high fun to view this burlesque of magistracy, this ridiculous mixture of poverty and titles, of rags and pomposity ; but, when the real, the active power of the 'Squire is considered, and when honest and rich men feel his pestiferous influence, he becomes a being almost as formidable as a highwayman or a housebreaker ; perhaps more so, as it is more difficult to obtain redress for the numerous wrongs that he commits. Were I called upon to name the three greatest curses that Pennsylvania labours under, I should certainly say, the *Dysentery*, the *Yellow Fever*, and the 'Squires, and should have no hesitation in declaring the latter to be the greatest of the three.

“MR. PORCUPINE,

“I*** married a free black woman in the West-Indies, had several children by her; he left her, bringing away all her money, came to this country, married another wife, had several children by her, and he is *now a Senator*. Now, will not the man, who robbed his negro wife, betray this country?

“*****”

“*Philadelphia,* }
“*20th Nov. 1797.*” }

Upon inquiry, I found this fact to be perfectly correct.

“*Portland, District of Maine,*
“*Nov. 17, 1796.*”

“The Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for the county of York, were holden at Biddeford the last week. At this court an action was commenced on behalf of the Commonwealth, against John Hilton, and others, for an assault and battery on Elizabeth Smith, widow. In the course of the trial it appeared, that in the month of October last, the complainant had been accused of *witchcraft*, and *not only her neighbours, but her relations had been so incensed against her, that she was obliged to fly to a neighbouring town for safety*. It seems that one John Hilton had, some time in October, become insane, and while in that state, accused the complainant of bewitching him. He said, that as he was a going home one evening, just before dark, the complainant appeared before him, and walked some time at about six yards distance; that he had an ox goad in his hand, which he held by

by the middle: that he presently perceived the goad to move through his hand; that when it had passed almost out of his hand, being persuaded that it was the complainant who was drawing it out, and that she did it by the power of witchcraft, he attempted to strike her, but instead of doing any injury to the complainant, he himself received a violent blow on the lower part of his back; that the blow gave him great pain, &c. Eaton Cleaves, witness on behalf of the defendants, further testified, that till the time mentioned by Hilton, he had been possessed of a sound mind; that he then declared the complainant had bewitched him, and had ever since declared it. That the complainant had been requested to visit Hilton: and that while she was in the house he appeared to be much better, and talked very rationally; that *it was proposed to obtain some of her blood as an antidote*; and that she consented that *her blood should be shed*. But notwithstanding all this, it appeared in evidence that *the defendants had threatened her life, and said she ought to have been long ago in hell with the damned; and that they would let loose the man whom she had bewitched, John Hilton, to kill her.*

“Whether they let him loose or not, is uncertain; but it is a fact, that he made his escape from the place where he was confined, and ran immediately to the house of the complainant; beat her violently with a stick, drove her out of the house, then seized her by the throat and well nigh choaked her. While Hilton was striking and choaking her, one of the defendants, and niece to Hilton, cried out, “*kill her, uncle John.*” It appeared also in the course of the trial, that other means had been used to kill her besides calling on “uncle John.” The defendants had (to use their own expressions) “*tried projects*”—This not having the desired effect, uncle John went in person. Many circumstances

given in evidence were calculated to provoke laughter. But at the close of the trial, the subject assumed a very serious aspect. *The delusion appeared to be general*, and **THE IGNORANCE OF THE PEOPLE PROFOUND.**

“ While the court was sitting, news was received that *on account of the trial in question, a house had been entirely demolished in the neighbourhood of the complainant.* His honour, Judge Wells, in an address to the defendants, endeavoured to convince them of the gross error into which they had fallen ; and that the difficulties and dissensions in the neighbourhood arose rather from **IGNORANCE** in themselves than from **WITCHCRAFT** in the poor old woman.

“ The defendants were bound to keep the peace till June next, and thence till August.”

“ 11th Oct. 1796.

“ AT an election not a hundred years ago in the city of Philadelphia, a citizen who had resided in it upwards of twenty years, taken his oath of allegiance at the revolution and paid taxes repeatedly, offered his vote. The Judge of the election, from circumstances knowing that his vote would be given on the wrong side, after learning the term of his residence, and that he had paid taxes, asked him for his receipts for such taxes. The poor man had taken none, but offered to take his solemn oath of having paid them. To this proposition the Judge very *conscientiously* replied, “ *We do not administer oaths.*” The poor man was retiring, thus brow beaten, by the *honourable* Judge ; when another person of different politics presenting himself, and the first questions being asked and answered, and it proving also that he had no receipt ; the
Judge

Judge unwilling to loose a *good* vote, that is one on the *right side*, asked him "Whether he could take his oath of having paid taxes." The answer was affirmative, and a magistrate was immediately called, who administered it, and the vote was given. The democratic elector who had witnessed this shameful instance of partiality, with becoming spirit then insisted upon having his oath and vote received; which the *righteous* judge no longer could find face to refuse.

"This anecdote which may be depended upon as fact, should serve to put the honest electors of this city on their guard at the election this day, lest they be trickt out of their right of suffrage; and it should be a caution to judges of elastic consciences not to put them to the trial then, as they will be watched, and if discovered acting unfairly, will be exposed.

"The electors should be apprized, that they have a right to require that an oath be administered to them, if they cannot produce a receipt for taxes.

"Another source of fraud at elections should here be mentioned. Some inspectors have been guilty of silyly inspecting the ballots when delivered, and according to their complexion objected to the qualifications of the voters, or received them without scrutiny. This violation of the right of ballot should be prevented by the close attention of every friend to fair election. If the purity of elections is suffered to be vitiated by unprincipled partisans with impunity, Americans may bid adieu to their liberties."

"MR. PORCUPINE,

"On the evening of the 23d of February, 1798, two days previous to the special election for sena-

tor, Mr. David Lummis happened to step into the tavern, kept by the widow Smith in Dārby; and upon his entering into the bar-room, was accosted in the following manner by a person present, "Here is Mr Lummis, he will vote for Israel Israel." "No Sir," replied Lummis, "I am not entitled to a vote."—"O yes you are, was not your father a freeholder?"—"Yes he was," replied Mr. L. "but I believe notwithstanding, according to law, I am not entitled to a vote." Here *Judge Brannan*, who was also present, interfered, and addressing himself to Mr. Lummis, said, "you certainly are entitled to a vote." Mr. L. replied, "Judge, I may be mistaken; but *by G—d*, I believe I am not entitled to a vote."—"Hush," said Brannan, "do not swear, I will not suffer it in my presence; (but he will suffer himself to get beastly drunk), it is *fineable*, and I cannot look over it," Mr. L. replied, "I ask your pardon, Judge; I did not do it out of any disrespect to your office; but it happened to slip out, I know it is fineable, and I am ready to pay the fine." J. B. "It might be looked over, *did not we think you were interesting yourself for the opposite party.*" Mr. L. "As to party, I believe I am not entitled to a vote; but if I were, I'll give you my word and honour, I would not vote for a party man." Judge B. "You would not; then you must pay your fine," which he made him do.*

"JO. THOMSON."

In

* A fact like this, though told in this homely way, gives one a more correct notion of the manners, and intrigues of these little despots than can possibly be conveyed in general description, though drawn with the most masterly pen.

This BRANNAN, was a justice of the peace for Delaware county, and a judge of the Common Pleas. He was, in the year 1798,

In Congress, March 3, 1797.

Mr Williams called for the resolution which he laid on the table some days ago. On examining the report of the secretary of the treasury, relative to the application and expenditure of the monies appropriated for expenses attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, he said, he found large sums of money had been paid on the warrants of the late secretary of state, whose accounts remain unsettled; and that neither the accounts of the foreign ministers, bankers, or agents of the United States, nor the records of the department of state, contained any explanation in respect to a considerable part of this money; that they had appropriated large sums of money from time to time, and it was necessary that a full investigation of that business should be had. There was in the report 18,000 dollars, paid on a warrant to Mr. Randolph for the expenses of a special envoy to Madrid, though he believed the envoy was not three months on that business. In order, therefore, to come at a more full knowledge of this subject, he hoped the resolution would be agreed to. It was in the following words:

“Whereas it is stated to this house, in a report of the secretary of the treasury of the 15th instant, that the accounts of monies advanced to Edmund Randolph, Esq. late secretary of state, for the expenses of foreign intercourse, still remain unsettled,

1798, dismissed from his office, *for harbouring a man who had robbed the bank!!!*—But, I have before cautioned the reader not to judge of the people of America from the characters of those who rule over them. Such is the degraded state of the government, that it is very seldom that an honest man can be found to accept of an office.

and that neither the accounts of the foreign ministers, bankers, or agents of the United States, nor the records of the department of state, contain any explanation in respect to a considerable sum of the said monies :

“ Resolved, that the secretary of the treasury lay before the House of Representatives, information of the amount of the sums so received by the said Edmund Randolph, Esq. for which there is no explanation, as aforesaid, and what measures have been taken to obtain a settlement of the said accounts.”

I have always thought that rogues hang together better than honest men.—Here is a call made by the representatives of the people, on a public functionary, to account for the expenditure of near 50,000 dollars of public money, for which there were no credits to be found in the books of the treasury ; that is, 50,000 dollars were sunk in his hands, without a single document to shew how he had disposed of them. Before Mr. Randolph left Philadelphia, he had received orders from the President to settle this account, and he promised to do it ; but having received so many applications of a similar kind from other quarters, and having his time occupied so much about that delicate business with Fauchet, he thought proper to break his promise and to retire *re infecta*. This was a just ground for an impeachment ; and I will venture to assert that, had there been as great a default in any other officer of the Federal government, even in the President himself, the outlandish orator or some other of the democratic gang would have moved for an impeachment, and it is very probable he would have carried the motion.

No sooner was Mr. Williams's motion delivered, than up rose the Genevan, and raising his right hand to his mouth, like a juggler that extracts ribbons

bonds from his throat, *out* he drew the following objection.

Mr. Gallitin. "If the gentleman from New-York had attended to the statement on the subject, he would have seen that the secretary of the treasury was not the person to be applied to"—"but the President should be requested, if he think it advisable, &c.;" "because"—" (mark the reasoning of this quibbling Italian)" because the money was drawn out of the treasury, by virtue of an order from the President, as he was the only one authorized to draw money for the purposes of foreign intercourse".——So, because the President's authority was necessary to procure the money, the speculator who received and embezzled it was to escape.—The President acted agreeably to common usage and the duties of his high office in this business; he informed the secretary of the treasury of what he had done to bring the defaulter to account; the secretary laid the business before Congress; and Congress ought, according to this fellow's reasoning to have sent him back to the President; and so, instead of pointing their enquiry directly against the culprit, the business was to be turned out of a strait line into a never ending circle, and virtuous officers were to be harrassed about an affair in which they had done no more than their duty. If the money is never recovered from the defaulter, the United States must lose it; but it is quite proper that he should be stigmatized, and declared unworthy of all future trust.—O lord! no, says the *political sinner*;
"In this business we know only the President of the United States, Mr. Randolph acted only as his agent; and he supposed the President would direct the secretary of the treasury to take the necessary measures against Randolph."—You see, readers, how rogues hang together!—This is the
man

man who came all the way from Geneva to instruct you in the *arcana* of financiering; and two of his most important secrets are to *stop the wheels of government*, and to raise obstructions in the way of justice; so that more may rebel, and embezzle public money, when they please with impunity.—Americans, how long will you suffer your councils and suffrages to be disgraced by suspicious foreigners, who come among you without a single recommendation but that of their impudence, and creep into office by some obscure inlet to insult, betray, and dishonour you?—In managing the violent and desultory measures of a revolutionary state, daring and unprincipled characters are sometimes employed, because in such a state business occurs for which they only are fit; but when a well organized government is established, and nothing is wanting to secure the general happiness, but to keep it in a constant and steady operation, to instruct them is the very height of impudence.

The following memorial is preserved, as a proof of the insolent tyranny of the courts of Pennsylvania.

TO the CHIEF JUSTICE and JUDGES of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The MEMORIAL and REMONSTRANCE of the Grand Jury for the City and County of Philadelphia:

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That the Grand Jury, having, in discharge of their duty, and on their solemn oaths and affirmations, deliberated and decided on two several indictments preferred against Elcazer Oswald, (each for a libel) and, under the sanction of such high obligations, having delivered their last return into
court,

court, (on Friday the 3d instant) cannot but remember, with peculiar sensibility and concern, that they incurred the severe displeasure of the bench, and received very reproachful language for their conduct.

After the most scrutinizing self-examination, they feel themselves assured of the purity and rectitude of their intentions; and DO therefore, in defence of their violated rights, and in their own justification, request the permission of the court, to clear themselves from the charges alledged against them,—and to establish the propriety and uprightness of their conduct.

That if any thing should fall from them, which, by a forced construction, might appear disrespectful to the court—they flatter themselves,—that their unshaken zeal for the liberties of their country,—their fidelity to their trust—and the relative situation they stand in with their fellow citizens of the state,—which are the motives that alone actuate them, will fully plead their apology.

That they have been accused of having examined witnesses, on the above-mentioned indictments, not previously approved of by the court,—Your Memorialists have been taught to believe, that an examination of all witnesses (labouring under no legal disqualification) is founded upon law, reason, and practice;—is a right inherent in a Grand Jury; and in free governments, should be secured, by every restraint of the most vigorous construction;—consequently, that the attempt to deprive Grand Jurors of this invaluable privilege, is an obstruction to the citizen's claim of rights in the present instance,—and if acquiesced in, might be drawn out into precedent, so as to prove a most certain defeat of them in future, to the great detriment and degradation of the members of this free Commonwealth.

They

They conceive, that the doctrine of the court,—of having a right to control the evidence they should examine, on indictments brought before them, is not only departing from the solid principles of law and liberty, and trusting to the discretionary power of judges—but would—if introduced into practice, be subversive of the oaths of the jurors, who are bound thereby, diligently to enquire into, and present—the *whole Truth*; which doubtless cannot be ascertained and established, with satisfactory precision; but from the result of testimony on both sides. It would, likewise, give to judges the opportunity of suppressing from improper motives, such evidence, as might tend to exculpate the party accused;—It is destructive too, of the humane intention of the law, which benevolently designs, that no person shall be convicted, but on the solemn decision of twenty-four persons delivered into court.

Your memorialists are of opinion that the suggestion of the chief justice, “that the grand inquest of the city and county, were biassed and lead away by the spirit of party views, and that they had been tampered with by the authors of the obnoxious publication,”—involved in it a criminal charge, of a heinous and offensive nature, that exposed their moral characters to doubt and discussion—was highly insulting to their feelings—and was an unmerited attack upon their integrity of conduct.

That, it is possible, imputations falling from such high authority, may make impressions, that will remain long, affect deeply, and that until they are cleared from such weighty accusations, they are fearful of being virtually incapacitated from serving their country in the same characters—candour and impartiality, are the essential qualifications of a grand jurymen,—under a deprivation of which,
the

the censure of the chief justice tended to lay them, when he accused them of delivering into court—a false return.—Matter of such serious consequence falling from the bench, should be supported on the broad basis of truth.

That they apprehend, the language of asperity and menace, delivered in an authoritative stile, is unbecomingly addressed to a Grand Jury, who, by being regulated in their conduct by their principles and their oaths, ought not to be biassed by the exercise of power, or the influence of office, however elevated. They can readily conceive, that precedents of this kind (as were indeed observed and quoted by the court) may be found in the slavish times of the Tudors and Stuarts; but they are convinced, that no such instances have existed, since liberty was fixed upon a permanent basis at the revolution.

Your memorialists are of opinion, that a clear conviction in their own minds, of a bill being “not true,” from the evidence produced, is a sufficient reason for not submitting it to the ulterior decision of the petit jury, which the chief justice prescribed to them, as their line of duty.

That, they are fully persuaded, the requisition made to the Grand Jury, individually to give their reasons to the court, which induced them to return the bills they presented “not true,” was an incroachment upon the sacred rights of juries, which form the bulwark of our civil liberties:—

It was a demand too, that militated in open defiance, and violation of their oaths and affirmations, from the obligations of which they know no authority on earth, that has a dispensing power to release them:—That they solemnly pledge themselves, the accusation of the chief justice, stigmatizing the jury with partiality, in refusing to examine evidence, is ill-founded—The jury having deliberately
and

and dispassionately searched into the merits of the case, and having formed a decision thereupon, before they had a knowledge of any further testimony, intended to be offered by the court.

In order, therefore, that the conduct of the court may not by our acquiescence under it pass into precedent, and be quoted in future cases, as an authority——Your memorialists conceive it an indispensable duty they owe to themselves——to their country,——and to posterity,——to leave on record a testimonial against it. To themselves,——to evidence, that they merit not the inferences of perjury, which might be drawn from the language of the chief justice;—to their country,—that courts, finding that grand juries will support their own rights, and with them, the liberties of the people, may not attempt to encroach on them;—and to posterity, that no advantage may result to their prejudice, by our silence.

That these benefits, arising from their salutary interposition may not be lost, they pray that this memorial may be filed amongst the proceedings of the court.

Philadelphia, January 6, 1783.

(Signed) *Zebulon Potts, Foreman; Samuel Caldwell, William Bingham, William Turnbull, Robert Hatre, John Shee, William Davis, George Ord, Reuben Haynes, Jacob Barge, Jacob Hiltzhermer, John Harrison, David McCullough, Samuel Wheeler, Derreck Peterson, Caleb Emlen.*

“ This morning FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHL-
LENBERG appeared on the Election Ground, and
publicly declared, in the presence of a number of
persons; that on the day he gave the casting vote,
on the appropriations for the treaty, Mr. JOHN
SWANWICK

SWANWICK told him that he, Mr. MUHLENBERG, had saved the United States, or his country, by that vote.

“ Mr. SWANWICK, one of the candidates at this election, after this, voted against the very measure on which he declared the safety of the United States depended.

“ *Philadelphia, October 11, 1796.*”

This did not prevent Swanwick from being elected.

“ *Virginia, Leominster, March 7, 1797.*

“ This truly great man, after he had retired from the presidency of the United States, to the situation of a private citizen, was returned a *petit juror*, to an *inferior court*! and manifested his superior greatness of soul, by submitting to serve: and the jury had the honour to report that GEORGE WASHINGTON had been unanimously appointed their foreman!! Thus we see him, after having attracted the admiration of the world by the splendour of his talents in the most exalted stations, exhibiting a sublime example of his submission to the duties of a private citizen!

“ *Wonderful Man! Magnanimous Hero!*”

The fact was, WASHINGTON's pride was well known, and the Sheriff, who was a malignant Democrat, had a mind to mortify the old man, by thus returning him as a *petit juror* to the *inferior court*; contrary to the practice of the State, according to which, if he had been summoned at all, it would have been in the capacity of *Grand Juror* to the *Supreme Court*. The cautious WASHINGTON, however, disappointed him; and, as was his practice through life, made a virtue of necessity, disguised his sentiments, and extracted popularity from

from disgrace itself. Of all human beings, I verily believe, Washington was the most cunning.

Next, after the justices of the peace, or '*Squires*, the most troublesome animals in America certainly are the *Musquitoes* and the *Militia Officers*; but these latter are far the most troublesome of the two. In England, a man serves in the militia once in his life-time, and he is no more pestered with it; but, in that *free* country, America, he is a soldier as long as he can walk; he must attend muster every month *in person*, and find himself arms and accoutrements, or pay a *fine* for every failure. This is *liberty*! Thus it is to be *free* and *independent*! Besides this regular plague, every man is liable to be called out at an hour's notice, and to be marched as far as the caprice of the little despot, called a governor, chooses to march him. He can never say when he shall be called, or where he shall be sent to. The following are copies of notices that I received in the city of Philadelphia.

" TAKE NOTICE, that you are enrolled in the 7th company of the 2d regiment of the Militia of the city of Philadelphia.

" *March, 1797.*

" WM. HEALY, *Captain.*"

" To William Cobbet."

" TAKE NOTICE, that by special order of his Excellency the Governor, you *are personally* to appear at the State-House, properly armed and equipped for service, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon, on Monday the 13th instant, *to march where required.*

" *Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1797.*"

" LEWIS NICOLAS,

" To William Cobbett."

" *Inspector.*"

I hope

I hope the reader will not, for a moment, imagine, that I *obeyed* the summonses of these wretches. I most certainly never did. I always threw them into the fire, these two excepted, which I preserved for the very use that I am now making of them. Nor did I pay a single *fine*. When they demanded fines from me, I refused to pay, and told the collector, that if he attempted to seize on my goods, I should plead my right of exception, as a British subject, and prosecute him for the seizure; but, people in general were obliged to obey, to pay the fine, or have their household goods seized and sold, or rather thrown away at auction; several were sent to jail. In fact, so disgraceful was it to be even seen amongst the rabble, called the militia, that hardly any man of credit would submit to it, and the whole establishment answered no earthly purpose, but that of extorting money from the respectable part of the people, to be shared amongst a swarm of hungry idle scoundrels, who lived by sucking the blood of the public.

The mode of appointing the officers, was calculated to keep the arms constantly in the hands of the most worthless and desperate part of the community. They were elected by *the people*. The following is the copy of a notice for an election of this sort.

“ MILITIA ELECTION.

“NOTICE is hereby given to the enrolled citizens, between eighteen and forty-five years of age, residing within the bounds of the third regiment of Philadelphia county militia, *to meet at the house of Catharine Fritz, No. 376, South Front-street, on Saturday the 12th day of January next; and then and there between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning, and six in the afternoon of said day, to elect by ballot one Lieutenant Colonel, for*

said regiment, in place of John Patterson, removed.

“FREDERICK WOLBERT,

“*Brigade Inspector.*”

“*Philadelphia County, Dec. 26, 1798.*”

“N. B. Previous to the election, two citizens are to be chosen, *to preside as judges* of said election.”

CATHARINE FRITZ kept a little dirty grog-shop in the skirts of the city; and FREDERICK WOLBERT, who signs this notice, was a *Squire*, which after what I have already said of American *Squires*, is sufficiently descriptive of his character.

These circumstances will enable the reader to judge of the description of voters, who would be assembled at this election, and also of the rank and character of the man, whom they would be likely to fix on as their *Lieutenant Colonel*. But, lest there should be any doubt as to this last point, I have a *Colonel* ready to exhibit.

The reader has seen that I had the honour to be “enrolled in the 7th company of the 2d regiment of the militia of the city of Philadelphia.” My *Colonel* was the *taylor of my clerk*, at whose recommendation he was promoted to be my taylor also. As he kept no journeyman, he came to measure me himself, upon which occasion I gave him a note, of which the following is a copy, and which he did not think it at all beneath him to carry open in his hand to my draper.

“TO MR. WAGNER.

“SIR,

“Please to let my Taylor, COLONEL SCOTT, have 2 yards $\frac{2}{3}$ of blue cloth, 1 yard $\frac{3}{4}$ of Kersey-meer for breeches, and 1 yard for waistcoat, with
as

as many buttons as he may want for the coat, and send a bill of the same to your

“ Most humble,

“ And obedient servant,

“ WM. COBBETT.”

“ *Philadelphia, 15th* }
June, 1798.” }

I must, however, do poor Scott the justice to observe, that, though a whip-stitch, he was a man of most delicate honour, of which he gave a singular proof. Having managed his matters so well as to become insolvent, and being apprehensive that the cruel law, which *then* existed, would compel him to go to jail for a few months, he went to the Governor, MIFFLIN, who was, *ex officio*, his commander in chief, and asked him, whether a short confinement in jail *would injure his honour as a soldier*. “ By no means,” replied MIFFLIN, who, was, for many years kept from similar durance, on a similar account, by nothing but the circumstance of his being Governor!—And are there, can there be, wretches impudent enough to extol republican governments?

The *prison of Philadelphia*, which has been so much praised by BRISSOT, WELD, and other superficial travel-writers, and which has been so much boasted of even by the Philadelphians themselves, has always appeared to me to be a dangerous innovation upon the laws and customs of our forefathers. I have not time, at present, to enter into a full examination of the evils resulting from this invention of “ the *benevolent* Howard;” but, there is one anecdote that I must record in the following ex-

tracts, which are taken from a narrative, published in the city of Philadelphia, in 1799, by one Patrick Lyon, a Scotsman, who was imprisoned for several months, on suspicion of having robbed the Bank of Pennsylvania, but who was honourably acquitted of the charge, the crime having been committed by an acquaintance of the CASHIER's, which acquaintance, upon refunding the money, *was suffered to escape without even an hour's imprisonment!!!*

LYON came forward with a complaint against those, who had so barbarously treated him, and, in the course of his complaint, he takes occasion to reveal the "secrets of the prison-house." His statement has never been contradicted, and is, most certainly, correct.

"There is not, (*if a man may be permitted to speak his opinion*), a better school for villainy, than the convict yard of Philadelphia prison. At this school I believe a prosecutor might make himself acquainted with more than he ought to be if he was a constant visitor there. It is customary in every room when the prisoners are locked up at night, to have a bucket; and the rule is, whoever makes use of the bucket first, must carry it down in the morning: it happened one night, that the bucket had been used by some of the prisoners; but by whom, it was not exactly known; however to end all disputes, the *Bible* was got, and *every one in that room swore, he did not use the bucket that night*. This is a specimen of what an ingenious criminator might effect amongst such a set of worthy disciples, especially if he carried the means of feeling with him; and a just specimen of what you will find in Philadelphia prison. But this kind of false swearing was not confined to the prison; but others (their) accomplices out of doors, true brothers

thers in iniquity, endeavoured to effect the purpose.*

"I have related the nature of the Philadelphia prison in several parts of this work; the advocates of which, cannot believe that such treatment is exercised on the prisoners, in any part of the prison; but these people that will not believe that the Philadelphia prison is as bad as any other prison, that is to be read of, my only wish is, that they may have a fair and speedy trial of it: it is impossible, say these unbelieving advocates, that any man can be *twenty-four hours without a morsel*. When it can be proved, that a prisoner some time back, *was starved and disfigured by the rats*;† and I suppose those advocates cannot deny that a keeper can at pleasure take the *unfortunate women out of the west wing, and keep them in the cells—for what purpose I suppose may be easily guessed at*. § A man taken to

* He alludes here to an attempt that was made to procure false witness against him.

† This is a well-known fact, though no one but LYON ever had the courage to state it in print. The man was committed to jail on a charge of assault and battery, brought by *his wife*. The offence was bailable, but the man was refused liberty to look for bail. When in prison, he certainly ought not to have been shut up in the cells, provided for convicts; but this was done, and when after having been left several days without food, he was found dead, *and gnawed by the rats*, the excuse of the keeper was, *that he had forgotten him!!!* This excuse, however, was, it seems, admitted as sufficient; for the keeper never was either punished or tried for the offence, nor was he even dismissed from his place.—So much for HOWARD and HUMANITY!

§ This shameful fact was communicated to me, in the Autumn of 1798, by a person, who had been a witness of the truth of it, and who signed his name to the communication. He named particular women, some married ones, who had not only been rendered subservient to the lusts of the keepers, but had become pregnant, and had submitted, in some instances, to the use of means for procuring abortions!—Howard and humanity again!

the cells for God knows what, sometimes at the request of his prosecutor, or persecutor, I cannot say which ; and kept several months on half a pound of bread, and a quart of water every twenty-four hours, until he is so weak that he has been known *to gnaw the plaister from the walls, and could not stand to evacuate his urine.* After such a reduction, the unfortunate and sometimes innocent victim, is conducted to the sick room and breathes his last : and if it is asked what he or they died of, it is answered (sometimes) of an inflammation of the bowels, or a consumption, or any thing but the real thing. I say no prisoner has a right to be put to the cells by the orders of the prosecutor, or persecutors, to extort any thing from him, or to satisfy their savage barbarity : why rail at the rack or the inquisition, if similar methods are pursued, to extort by means of force, the frantic exclamations of suffering innocence, for the purposes of self-condemnation ? I only mention these things, to let my *fellow-citizens* know a little of the two much boasted of Philadelphia prison ; and as this is but a small specimen, I shall likely take more particular notice of many things in a publication I may think proper to make hereafter."

From a series of letters and other documents, published by authority of the Court of Chancery of the state of New-York, it appears, that JONATHAN DAYTON, who was, in 1796, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, had, at that time, set on foot an extensive land-jobbing speculation, and that he made every exertion to pass *a law, which law was calculated to render his speculation profitable !* It further appears, that this speaker, gave his vote in favour of the British Treaty, and used all his endeavours to induce others.

others to do the same, because the ratification of that treaty, by fixing the boundaries of the States, and other circumstances attending it, would inevitably give additional value to the back lands, which he had speculated in!—His conduct was inexplicable at the time. It is now no longer so.—Such are republican speakers; such are “*representatives of the sovereign people!*”

The following article is taken from the Philadelphia Aurora of September, 1800. This Aurora is a democratic paper; but facts are facts, let them be recorded where they may.

“Mr. Kittera had some reason to dislike democracy, he was indebted to some democrats to a considerable amount; a *bankrupt law* was passed at the last session of Congress, wherein it was declared to be meant to comprehend persons in trade only—Mr. Kittera is an *Attorney* by profession, we did not know before that it was a *trade*.

“Mr. Kittera, as a member of Congress, voted for this law.

“Mr. Kittera has taken the benefit of this law as a trader.

“This is genuine *Daytonism*, for Mr. Kittera has *paid his debts* by a law of his own making. Who would not support such men and their friends?

“Mr. Kittera has very complacently notified some citizens of Philadelphia, of his having taken the benefit of the *Bankrupt Law*, is it surprising that he should be a supporter of those who have withheld the public monies, who have betrayed their trust, of those who have broken oaths, and applied the money of their clients to their private use? Is it surprising that he should be the friend of Dayton and Harper.”

When I hear the advocates for "*humanity*" exclaim against the English system of *imprisonment for debt*, I look back to that country, where imprisonment for debt has been nearly done away. In Pennsylvania, in particular, the law has been continually *ameliorating*, as it is called, and the consequence has been precisely such as the most *dishonest* and *inhuman* wretch could wish for. Till the year, 1799, an insolvent debtor was liable to be imprisoned *a few months*. The law required him to send a notice to each of his creditors of his having petitioned the Judges to grant him, at their ensuing sessions, the benefit of the insolvent act, which they were obliged to grant, unless *fraud* could be proved against him; and thus was he at once set free from the claims of all his creditors for ever. But, it was found, that even these trifling checks on dishonesty were too troublesome. A debtor frequently forgot to send the notice to a part of his creditors, or his notes and bonds had been transferred into the hands of a third, fourth, or fifth person; so that, not being able to give his notices to all those who had claims on him, the persons not notified of his intention had still their remedy against him. To prevent this embarrassment, a law was passed to make an advertisement in the newspapers a legal notice to all the creditors of a petitioner. I here insert a copy of one of these notices.

"To the Creditors of Messrs. Bates and Darley.

"Notice is hereby given, That I have applied to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the city and county of Philadelphia, for the benefit of the insolvent act of Assembly, passed in April last, and they have appointed the 27th instant at the
State

State House, in the city of Philadelphia, to hear me and my creditors, when and where my said creditors are requested to attend.

“WM. DARLEY.”*

“Dec. 13th, 1798.”

Sometimes, for economy's sake, several debtors clubbed for the expenses of an advertisement, as for example :

To the Creditors of the Subscribers.

“Please to take notice, that we have applied to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, for the benefit of an act of assembly, passed the 4th day of April last : and they have appointed Thursday the 27th inst. to hear us and our creditors, in the city of Philadelphia, at such place where the court may be held, and where you may attend, if you please.

PATRICK CAVANAUGH.

JAMES DOUGHERTY.

PETER G. ROSE.

JOHN GREENE.

LEWIS DE GRAFF.

JAMES M-CALLEY.

RICHARD STOKES.

“Dec. 6. 1798.”

* The insertion of this notice furnishes me with an opportunity of relating an anecdote of another kind.—BATES and DARLEY were two of those play actors, well known on the English stage, who went over to America *to make their fortunes!* They went to jail on this occasion, as was the usual custom, till the court met ; but, in the mean time, *Bates* was frequently brought out of jail (as *Fennel* had been before) to act on the stage ; and he actually had his play-benefit during his confinement, for which he very aptly and very impudently chose, “*A New Way to pay Old Debts.*”—I have elsewhere stated, that the two proprietors and managers, WEIGNELL and REINAGLE, paid off their debts with the same convenient sponge ; and I have only
to

Thus the reader will perceive, that these men notified their intention to take the benefit of the insolvent act, just twenty days before the court met, when, of course, they were legally freed from the jail, and from the claims of all their debtors. Even this short confinement, however, was thought to be too great an abridgment of the Rights of Man, for which *alleged* reason the legislature passed a law abolishing imprisonment for debt altogether; but the true reason for passing this law was thought to be the preventing of MIFFLIN, the Governor, from going to jail, which he must have done, at the expiration of his term of office, if this law had not been passed!—Was there ever such an abominable state of things!

That the reader may be enabled to form some calculation of the numbers of persons, who availed themselves of the means, which the laws gave them for cheating their creditors, I here subjoin a list, taken from *one* single newspaper, published in Philadelphia: Claypole's American Advertiser of the 31st of March, 1800.

Notice to Creditors.

Uzziel Oliphant	James Murtaugh
Samuel Fisher	George Daly
Horatio Oliphant	Priscilla Gorden
David Shute	James Shephard
Thomas Condie	William Jack
Daniel Fiss	William Relf
Henry M'Henly	Charles Miller

to add, that, precisely at the time, that these transactions were going on, the TRUE BRITON (a London paper) gave a high wrought picture of the *flourishing state* of the stage and of the players in America, stating, in particular, that *Bates and Darley* were *getting rich*!—N. B. *Wignell* and *Reinagle* and *Bates* and *Darley* applied their sponge to a decent sum due to *me*.

Alex-

John Alexander	Charles Fleming,
James J. Denoon	Abraham Greenwood
William Yard	Michael Capper
Matthew Adam	Elizabeth Eustas
James Steele	Margaret Leonard
Daniel Cole	Peter Deisher
Robert Carr	Charles Dilworth
James West	Margaret Benner
Francis Thimbrook	John Lassalle
Philip Ohler	Samuel Richardet
James Haffey	John Testart
Edward Wells	Hermon Bake
John Nelson	Martinon Boulogne
Thomas Brasington	Thomas Steele
Richard Winter	Benjamin Nones
James Wilkin	John Mearns
William Brower	W. R. M'Crea
Edward Lucas	Joseph Bates
Joseph Ashbridge	Gilbert Stuart
Robert J. Heath	

The reader will please to observe, that this was only a *quarterly list, for the city and county of Philadelphia only!* The court sits four times a year, and at every sitting it brings forward such a list as this, which has not been chosen for its extraordinary numbers, but was the first that I happened to lay my hand on.

In order to prevent the effect of the provision, which the law makes against *fraud*, these swindling debtors generally transfer their property to their friends or relations, previous to the meeting of the court, which property is afterwards received back again. In some instances, however, these friends, or relations, think proper to *keep* the property thus fraudently transferred, and I remember more than one instance, in which a quarrel between the rogues has caused honest men to recover their due. But,
generally

generally speaking, the business is managed with so much art, that, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the fraud remains undetected, and the creditors are cheated by the unprincipled debtor, who laughs at their anger and their ruin, and who frequently drives his gig, in splendour and triumph, through the streets, the very next day after he has sworn himself a pauper!—The consequences are such as may naturally be expected to flow from such causes: general dishonesty and universal distrust.

In 1794 the proceedings of the court at * * * were interrupted for four days on account of the chief justice's having a *black eye*, giving him by his wife. I had this anecdote from JOE THOMAS, and several other persons confirmed the fact, which was, indeed notorious.

At * * * the chief judge was so drunk, that, having occasion to retire for a little while, he was led from the bench by two constables, who supported him all the time, and afterwards led him back to his seat.—I had this from a gentleman, who was a witness of the scene, and on whose veracity I would stake my life.

In the year 1795, a MRS. *****, whose husband was a *Judge*, married, actually married, a hostler in Philadelphia. His honour the judge, who had taken up with another woman, and who had totally neglected his wife and one of his children, came to Philadelphia, on a visit, in 1798, when, having little to do, he stepped into jail for a few weeks, and *took the benefit of the insolvent act*. In jail he found the other husband of his wife, engaged

gaged in a similar amusement, and they actually both came before the court, and were white-washed together! The *Judge*, during the winter of 1800, happened one day, to be a spectator in the lobby of the senate of the United States, where he was so taken with the venerable appearance of the senators, and felt such an irresistible desire to resemble them, that he *stole one of their cloaks*, which was taken from his back the next Sunday, just as he came out of a presbyterian meeting-house, at which the senator, whom he had robbed, unfortunately, chanced to make one of the congregation.—These facts, horrid as they may seem, are notorious.

On *Sheriffs*, I could write a long chapter, but I have not room. They are, in most of the States, *chosen by the people*; and from the mode of their appointment, as well as every other circumstance, they necessarily become *the tools of faction*. Sheriff WILL twice took the benefit of the insolvent act, during his shrievalty; PROCTER did the same thing once, during his shrievalty. THOMAS, the lawyer, one day shewed me the list of a jury, who were to try a cause, in which he was concerned. “Who do you think picked that jury?” said he, “I do not know,” said I, “Why?” replied he, “*It was I.*”—It is notorious, that juries are thus packed, and that fraud and faction have poisoned the current of justice to the very fountain head.

I shall now, not for want of more matter, but for want of more time and room, wind up this string of anecdotes with some account of *Judge Brackenbridge*, who is, at this time (May, 1801) one of the justices of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, and who has, of course, an authority si-

- milar,

milar, and almost equal in the extent of its influence, to that of the justices of the King's Bench, in England.

This *Brackenridge* was formerly a presbyterian minister, and preached his *trial-sermon*, as they call it, in Arch-street Meeting-house, in the city of Philadelphia. He went to reside in the back counties of Pennsylvania, where he quitted the pulpit for the bar, and where, in the year 1794, he acted a conspicuous part in the whiskey insurrection, which cost the United States a million and a half of dollars to quell it.

Not having availed himself of the conditional amnesty, offered to the insurgents by General Washington, he was liable to be tried and hanged for his offence. He was brought down to Philadelphia, but, on condition of his becoming States' evidence against some of his accomplices, his pardon was promised him, and he was even suffered to remain at large in the city, where the trials were held. He afterwards published a narrative of his conduct, in which he gives the following description of his situation, while in Philadelphia.

“ I was in the city some days before the session
“ of the court; and had found private lodgings.
“ But the mistress of the house, who was a widow
“ lady, understanding who I was, expressed great
“ uneasiness. She took it for granted that I was to
“ stand trial, *and did not like the idea of having a*
“ *man hanged out of the family.* I prevailed upon
“ her to suffer me to remain at least, until I was
“ about to be put on my trial.

“ Under the predicament in which I was, I did
“ not think it prudent to attend the theatre, or to
“ go to places of public resort. It would subject
“ myself to the indignity of looks, if not words.
“ I attempted to amuse myself a little in the shops
“ of booksellers; but even these were shy of me.”

In

In the autumn of 1799, M'KEAN was elected Governor of Pennsylvania, in the room of MIFFLIN. As he succeeded one so much like himself, so he was resolved to have a *worthy* successor on the bench, and, accordingly, he appointed *Brackenridge* to be a Judge of the Supreme Court.

For me to attempt to describe the character of this man would be a vain effort. It is absolutely impossible for any one to do justice to the picture : some idea of it may, however, be formed from the following article, which is faithfully copied from MR. WAYNE's paper, the *Gazette of the United States*, published at Philadelphia on the 12th of December, 1800. It will be seen, that MR. WAYNE took the article from a paper published at Pittsburgh, the place near which the scene of action lay.

“ *From the PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.*

“ *An ACCOUNT of the late Mad Circuit of JUDGE BRACKENRIDGE through Washington County.*

“ IN July last Mr. Brackenridge desirous of displaying his new dignity of Judge among his old acquaintances, came over to Washington dressed with unusual neatness. Finding that no decent person of the place called to see him, he walked through the town, accosted the people with studied courtesy as he passed the streets, in some instances advanced to the door of his former friends, but was received with marked coolness, and although not directly insulted, yet he found himself so much detested, that with all his insinuating civilities no person invited him into his house. Mortified beyond measure at this treatment, he returned to his tavern, called for brandy to cure his vexation, and after drinking hastily an unusual portion of that fiery liquor he rode away to Cannonsburgh.

“ Although

“ Although evidently intoxicated when he alighted there, yet he went on drinking whiskey to great excess, and abusing the gentlemen of Washington. Sometimes he pretended to be asleep in his chair, and suddenly would start up with some incoherent exclamation, and then take another drink. After a while he said he had a fever, proceeding to strip himself naked, took a sheet and hung it over his shoulders, and walked before the door thus exposed. This soon collected a multitude of boys, to whom he addressed many pleasant things, affecting to talk and act like one of themselves—Presently he ordered water to be carried to the stable, and compelled a blacksmith’s boy to throw several buckets of cold water upon him. The other boys, and even men, gathered round the stable, and diverted themselves with the whimsical figure of a naked Judge upon all fours among the horses, undergoing the operation of washing and rubbing. One lad said that he ought to be drenched also—others said he was already drenched with whiskey. The merriment of these fellows offended the Judge. He ordered them away :—they refused to go.—He threatened to commit them ; said he was a Judge of the Supreme Court :—and assured the blacksmith’s boy that he would do something clever for him if he would stay by him, and try to prevail with the other boys to go home. Returning from the stable wrapped in the sheet he took more whiskey, and at intervals put on his clothes again.

“ Although altogether unfit for travelling he resolved to set out for Pittsburgh, and with difficulty got upon his horse. By this time all Cannonsburgh had learned that the Judge was either drunk, or mad, or both, and there was a general laugh as he passed. Near the end of the village he saw several men together with sickles in their hands. Fancying them to be enemies he damned them to clear the road

road for a Judge of the Supreme Court; then clapping spurs to his horse he raised a frightful war-hoop, and dashing through the midst of them, went off at full speed yelling wildly as he went, while the peaceable reapers stood in the utmost consternation.—He was so far overpowered with drink, that he immediately lost the main road, and went off a great distance towards Miller's Run. His horse was nearly exhausted on his arrival at Mr. Aga's, where he dismounted, came into the house, asked for whiskey, pulled off his outside clothes, and began to draw his shirt from his breeches. The women fled thinking him mad. The men of the house were reaping in the field. He commanded an old sick man to go with him to the spring where sixteen buckets of water were thrown upon him. Then he ordered a tin of whiskey and another tin of milk, mixed them together, and drank off the whole. Told the old man he was a Judge of the Supreme Court. Threw himself upon a bed where he remained till next morning.

“ Finding himself out of the road, he enquired for Pittsburgh, and proceeded some distance on that rout; but afterwards mistaking his course, he turned towards Cannonsburgh. The burning sun awakened the unperspired whiskey of the preceding day, and brought back his fatal delirium. As he travelled on, people observed his frantic gestures and heard his incoherent ejaculations. At length he overtook a boy on his way to fetch water for reapers in a neighbouring harvest field. He commanded the affrighted boy on the peril of his life to shew him the spring. There he stripped and laid himself over a large log. The boy poured more than twenty buckets of water upon him, while the Judge was cursing and damning him all the time—The boy was so agitated that he did not ob-

serve the shirt of the Judge, and trod great part of it into the mire as he passed between the spring and the log.—When the judge arose, his shirt was scarcely visible and utterly unfit to put on. The boy fled. The judge had no other shirt, and was, therefore, compelled to seek the house, and there lie in bed till his shirt was washed and dried. While this process was going on, he drank plentifully of whiskey and milk; told the women of the house that he was a judge of the supreme court, higher in rank than Mr. Addison—that he would have Addison turned out, and most of the justices in the neighbourhood broke because they were enemies of Governor M'Kean.

“ At length the shift being ready, he prepared to leave the house; but when offering to pay for the trouble he had occasioned, his money was lost. Here a new scene of cursing and swearing ensued, until one of the children searching at the spring found the money where his clothes had been thrown off.

“ All these things being settled, the judge started for Pittsburgh, and on his way stopped at the tavern of Mr. Hamilton in Noblesburgh, to refresh himself. Here he acted over again his usual extravagances. Stripped himself, put on a woman's gown, and ordered the landlord *to lead him to water*. The landlord did not understand him. The judge flew into a passion, damning and swearing dreadfully. The landlord was obliged to carry a vessel to the spring, and throw water upon him for more than a quarter of an hour. The whole village was convinced that the judge was out of his senses. Returning to the house with the gown upon him, he ordered egg-nogg to be made; upon tasting it, he swore and damned so horribly, that the whole family were terrified at his profaneness; and all this,
merely

merely because the egg-nogg had not whiskey enough in it. He threatened to commit the tavern keeper and take away his license, because he did not keep accommodations proper for gentlemen. Seeing a sick child in the family, he told the mother that it would die in a few hours, unless she gave it raw bacon. Swore that nothing else would cure it. After much more wild frantic folly, he remounted and departed for Pittsburgh, where it is said he continued drunk for several days, under circumstances very aggravated and distressing; but they are not so well known to the writer as to be particularly specified.

“The foregoing narrative would seem almost incredible to any person unacquainted with Mr. Brackenridge, yet it can be proved by the oaths of many witnesses. His cursing and swearing were shocking beyond any thing ever heard before. A person at Noblesburgh is willing to make oath that the judge d—d the landlord fifteen times while he was getting whiskey to make the egg-nogg stronger. When these things are done by a magistrate high in office, we cannot expect reformation or punishment of the profane and dissolute among us. Office is degraded, religion dishonoured, and sober virtue wounded, by such outrageous behaviour in a Judge. Wise men will see all the mischiefs which must follow the mad career of such an officer in the society, and good men will every where lament the affliction and misfortune which has befallen the state by the appointment of a man useless in point of industry and sense, and noxious beyond all calculations by his example.”

Observe, English reader, observe, that these are not the words of PETER PORCUPINE, but of the

Americans themselves. What can be urged against facts like these? When any one has the assurance to speak in defence of republican government, let these facts be presented to him, and, if he be not lost to every sense of shame, he will ever after be dumb.

END OF MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.

PRIESTLEY'S

PRIESTLEY'S
CHARITY SERMON

FOR

POOR EMIGRANTS.

OF the mischiefs which American independence has produced in the world, that of seducing thousands upon thousands of ignorant Europeans from their homes, to die with hunger and sickness, in the woods and swamps of the United States, is not the least. I could fill a volume with the names of the miserable wretches who have been thus ruined in the space of a very few months. I could relate facts that would astonish any European; but, aware of the prejudices that every thing a *royalist* can assert will have to encounter, I shall, on this, as on most other subjects, appeal to the republicans for evidence. Without further preface, I shall, therefore, insert, entire, a Charity Sermon, for the benefit of Poor Emigrants, preached, "or rather prated," by Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, in the University Hall in Philadelphia (all the *Clergy*, of all denominations, having refused him admission into their pulpits), on the 9th of February, 1797.

The bare circumstance of a *charity* sermon having been preached for the benefit of people, who had left Europe for the avowed purpose of

going to a country, where they would find *ease* and *plenty*, is no very weak evidence against those flowery tales, which were, and which still are, made use of to inveigle the ignorant and discontented across the Atlantic. Another circumstance, which cannot possibly be misrepresented, might, one would think, serve as a complete refutation of those tales, to wit: The laws of several of the United States, require, that the captain and owners of vessels, in which emigrants arrive, shall enter into bonds for the payment of the expense of maintaining all such of the said emigrants *as may become chargeable to any parish during the first year of their residence in America*: a precaution, which, it must be obvious to every one, grew out of the necessity of the case, and was dictated by the heavy charges, which parishes were put to on account of the miseries of these misguided and unfortunate wretches. But, I like to make our enemies speak for themselves, and speak out too. Doctor Priestley enters into some detail of the blessings of emigration; he is an emigrant himself, and speaks from experience. Let his countrymen, then, listen to him with patience. They will learn an useful lesson; they will find, that a livelihood is no where to be obtained without labour, and that they are much more likely to acquire competence and happiness by industry and contentment at home, than by a voyage to a foreign country.

THE
S E R M O N.

*Thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know
the heart of a stranger.*

EXODUS 23. 9.

*Love ye, therefore, the stranger. For ye were
strangers in the land of Egypt.*

DEUTERONOMY 10. 19.

FROM these passages in the books of Moses, recommending to the Israelites the case of *strangers*, as peculiarly entitled to their compassion and kind offices, since they had themselves been strangers; permit me, who am myself a stranger among you, to recommend to your favourable notice, and charitable assistance, the various strangers, or *emigrants*, from different parts of Europe, and the West India Islands, who are now crowding to the shores of America.

In the scriptures, the case of the *stranger* frequently accompanies that of the *fatherless* and *widow*, as being often equally destitute, and standing in equal need of assistance; and therefore having a natural claim upon those who have it in their power to give them assistance, though they should not have been in the same situation themselves. For all persons, who have the common feelings of men, may form an idea of distress, though they should not have felt one particular species of it; and from a principle of benevolence, natural to

all men, may be moved to give relief. But they who themselves have had experience of distress, and especially of distress of the same kind, may be expected to enter with more feeling into the case, from their having a clearer idea of it, and therefore to afford a more prompt and effectual relief.

Now all of you who now hear me, may be expected to have this sympathy for strangers, and emigrants, in some degree; since, if not yourselves, yet your fathers, or not very remote ancestors, were also strangers, and not in a distant country, as Egypt was with respect to the Israelites, but in this very country in which we are now met. We should, therefore, behave to one another, in this land in which we may all be said to be equally strangers, as brethren; brethren, not merely as partaking of the same human nature, but brethren in affliction, difficulty and trials. And therefore those who, by the favour of a kind providence, have surmounted their difficulties, and now find themselves at their ease, with something more than is necessary for the supply of their own wants, should remember those who are yet struggling with theirs, and *give out of what they can well spare to him that needeth.*

This is agreeable to the excellent plan of divine providence, which has wisely appointed this life to be a state of discipline to us all, and which, with equal wisdom, makes the greatest use of men as the instruments of this discipline for the improvement of men. For this reason it is that some are rich, and others poor; some knowing, and others ignorant; some powerful, and others weak. Not that the Supreme Being, our common parent shews any partiality to one more than another, or distinguishes any persons as his favourites, by this unequal distribution of his gifts; but because the good, and especially the moral good, of the whole,

re-

requires that there should be these distinctions. His design evidently is that these advantages should be more equally distributed by the parties themselves, since that will have a better effect than if it had been done immediately by himself.

The rich, therefore, reflecting on the wise intentions of providence, should not suppose that they have an absolute, exclusive *right* to their superfluity; the wise should not be *wise for themselves* alone, nor should the powerful protect themselves only from insults and injuries. Our common parent had far other and more extensive views in appointing this inequality. It was no less than to bind all the parts of the great whole more strictly together, to make the one more dependant upon the other; and by an exchange of good offices, easy to some, and necessary to others, give scope to the increase of generosity on one side, of gratitude on the other, and of benevolence on both; thus to advance them in real dignity and excellence of character, and thereby bring them to a near resemblance to himself, the pattern of all perfection and excellence, to him who is supremely, and strictly speaking, *alone good*, as being the source of all goodness, who is *good to all*, and *whose tender mercies are over all his works*.

Had all men been equally well provided for, they would have been independent of one another, and of course unsocial and unfriendly, and therefore might have been disposed to avoid, rather than to court, that society of which they stood in no need; and a spirit of envy and hatred, might have been the result. But the wants of some teach them humility, patience, and gratitude, excellent moral qualities; and the sight of distress softens the heart, and excites to acts of kindness in others, which strengthens the principle of benevolence; and thus meliorates the disposition.

Conse-

Consequently, the characters of both are improved, and it is not easy to say which is the more so, by this circumstance of inequality in the distribution of the gifts of providence.

Let not the rich man make a boast of his charity, as if he gave what he was under no *obligation* to give. For, strictly speaking, it is a *debt* which he owes to the needy. Benevolence being the great law of our natures, and the happiness of all being the great object of the divine government, whatever it be that promotes this end, is the proper *duty* of all, according to their respective abilities, to contribute to it; and any person is guilty of a breach of trust who refrains from doing it. All the good that any man *can* do, he *ought* to do. The Divine Being, our common parent, expects it of him, as a member of his large family; and if he *judge the world in righteousness*, as he assuredly will, he will punish the person who does less than it was in his power to do, as having neglected a duty that was incumbent on him.

In whatever manner any person becomes possessed of wealth, it is the gift of God. If it have accrued to him from superior ingenuity, or superior industry, that very superior ingenuity and spirit of activity, are alike the gift of God, who makes one man to differ, in these respects as well as others, from another man: so that, as the apostle says (1 Cor. 4. v. 7.) God may say to any man: *What hast thou, that thou hast not received? and if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* Consequently, not to make that disposition of our wealth which the giver of it *intended* that we should, is to be guilty of ingratitude to God, and real injustice to man. It is to act the part of an unfaithful steward. For in this light, and no other, ought we to consider ourselves
with

with respect to every thing that we have to spare, after the supply of our own wants.

Neither let the rich boast of their *independence* with respect to the poor. In fact, they are more dependant upon the poor than the poor are upon them; and were all persons reduced to a level, every advantage of which they now boast would vanish. They must then labour for themselves, and do for themselves those menial offices which are now done for them by others. But, happily for us all, there is such a foundation laid in the course of nature and the order of providence, for that inequality in the conditions of men, which has so excellent an effect in binding us all together, in making our connexion both necessary and mutually advantageous, that no institutions of man can destroy it; though, as we are in duty bound, we may lessen the evils that necessarily arise from it.

Since then the rich, who really wish to act the part that in strict duty they are bound to do, have only a choice to make of objects on whom to bestow their superfluity; and there are many of them, so that some may apply themselves to the relief of one species of distress, and others of another, or of several in different degrees, according as their attention is attracted to them; I only plead, on this occasion, that the poor *emigrants* are entitled to a share. Not that I wish to have a fund so open to them, as that they should have a claim upon it as a *legal right*. That circumstance, as we see in the case of the poor of England, would soon defeat the very object of the charity. The more poor of any kind you provide for in this way, the more you will create; the more you may burden yourselves, and that without limit, and the more distress you will occasion in others. By this most injudicious system you could only encourage idleness, improvidence, insolence, and profligacy of every

every kind.* But let there be a fund provided, on which, though no person shall have a legal

* Here the Doctor and I differ in opinion. The English system of poor law is the best in the world ; the fairest for the giver, and the least degrading to the receiver. By this wise and humane system, those who possess the good things of this world, are compelled to assist those who do not possess them ; they are compelled to perform the "*obligation* which," as the Doctor truly says, "they are under to give;" they are compelled to pay "the *debt*, which they owe to the needy." And, so wisely did our forefathers contrive this system, that the compulsion being general, has in it nothing invidious on the one part, or humiliating on the other. The poor man, in England, is as secure from beggary as is the king upon the throne. The very worst that can befall him is to be obliged to make his distresses known to the parish officers, to the heads of the great family of which he is a member, who are obliged, by law, to give him what he needs, which he receives, not as an alms, but as his *legal due*. No one is vested with inquisitorial powers over him ; he comes not as a suppliant for mercy or compassion, and, therefore, he fears no refusal. His body may be wasted with want and infirmity, but his heart is not broken by degradation. It is somewhat strange to hear *Doctor Priestley* express his dislike to this system, because it encourages "*insolence*" in the poor ; him, who has discovered more insolence towards his superiors, than, perhaps, any man that ever existed. There is no good without its concomitant evil ; and it may be, that a *certain* provision for the poor does, in some instances, encourage idleness, improvidence, and insolence ; but, how trifling is this evil, when weighed against the heart-cheering confidence which *every man* feels, that neither himself, nor the widow, or the orphans, that he may leave behind him, can ever want for the necessities of life, and can never be exposed to a precarious subsistence?—To hear the Doctor railing against English poor laws, one would imagine that there were no poor laws in the United States ; but, to the honour of those States be it spoken, they have poor laws upon the English plan. I, who have paid poor taxes in that country, am able to speak with precision on the subject, and I can prove from my receipts, that my poor rates, in the very town where the doctor was prating, were full as high as they are in London, in 1801. There are poor every where. We read of the poor from one end of the Bible to the other. It is the lot of mankind to be subject to poverty, and, as far as relates to the poor, that is the best country where poverty produces the least suffering of body and mind, and that country is Old England.

claim

claim, yet from it persons of discretion may, as they shall see occasion, give temporary relief to such emigrants as really want it.

Observe also, that I only say *temporary* relief, so as to put the poor emigrants in the way of relieving and providing for themselves; and to do *this*, some assistance may be absolutely necessary. It might not even be amiss to make the sums afforded them a debt which the institution might reclaim, if the parties relieved should afterwards, as it is hoped most of them will, be in a condition to refund it, and also with interest, for the benefit of others. But that, in some way or other, *many poor emigrants are entitled to assistance, will appear to every person who shall consider their situation.*

1. It may be depended upon that, in general, emigrants are of *the more industrious class of people*. For the *enterprising*, as the emigrants, in some degree must be, are chiefly of that character. The *indolent*, as well as the timid, stay at home, content to starve, rather than make any attempt, that shall appear in the least degree hazardous, to better their condition*. The *weak* and the *sickly*, the *aged* and *infirm*, however willing, cannot leave their country, and the friends on whom they depend.† It is therefore probable that, with a little

* This is not the first time that *falsehood* has found its way into a sermon of DOCTOR PRIESTLEY. No; the *industrious* poor do generally stay at home, except, indeed, the *chevaliers d'industrie*. The *indolent* will wander any where, in hopes of *living without work*, and, as they are told they can do this in America, they go thither. The *enterprising* poor, if we confine their enterprize to sedition and robbery, do, indeed, flock thither in great numbers.

† This is a valuable confession; for, if the weak, the sickly, the aged, and the infirm, stay at home, the emigrants must, of course, consist of strong, healthy people; yet even these, we see, stand in need of assistance from charity sermons, when they

seasonable assistance, the poor emigrant, being disposed to industry, will *soon be in a condition to provide for himself*, and even to reimburse his benefactor.

It may be said that persons must be very thoughtless and improvident, to leave their country, though ever so poor, without a certainty of finding subsistence in another, and therefore that, on persons of so little foresight, money will be thrown away. This, no doubt, may be the case. But many, and we may well suppose, the greater part, of the necessitous and helpless persons, whose cause I am pleading, were only misinformed with respect to the country to which they have emigrated; and it is by no means easy, especially to persons in their low situation, to procure good information.

Those emigrants who had friends in this country, will of course find employment with them, or assistance from them, and these are no objects of the present charity. But even some of these find their friends dead, or removed, or on some other account incapacitated to give them the assistance they had reason to expect. *And many came without any friends at all, but with high expectations from such accounts as were given them of this country; as that they would meet with no difficulty, that if they were able and willing to labour, they could not fail to find employment, and that all labour would be abundantly rewarded.** But many of these were manu-

they reach the blessed shores of America, "the land," as Paine calls it, "flowing with milk and honey."—What falsehoods these impostors have propagated!

* Very true; but what shall we say to the precious knaves, who gave the poor wretches this account? and what shall be said to DOCTOR PRIESTLEY, who was one of them? In 1796, he wrote a letter to England (see page 252, and Vol. XI. page 421), in which are these words: "Here we have no poor, nor
" is

facturers in their own country, and now find, to their great surprize, that their skill and industry are not wanted here, and can be of no service to them, and that there is no kind of labour, to which they have been accustomed, or to which they are equal, by which they can, at least can immediately, get a living.

*Also many emigrants have suffered extremely during the voyage. They are landed in a sickly condition, or soon become sickly by the change of climate; so that for a long time they are unable to do any thing at all, and they find expenses at inns and lodging houses much greater than they had any idea of; so that the little money they might bring with them is soon expended, and they are left wholly destitute. In this case, if they meet with no relief from the charitable and well disposed, they must inevitably perish.**

“ is there a family in want.” And this is the very country, where I am sure he paid poor taxes every quarter, and in the very city, where there are always five hundred poor constantly in the workhouse, and where as many more are constantly assisted at their houses! This letter I first saw in an English newspaper published at Leeds; and I have no doubt that it was the means of inveigling one thousand people to America. Such an abominable disposition to mischief one would hardly believe could inhabit the human breast.

* This picture, which wants little heightening, is drawn by DOCTOR PRIESTLEY, though it has not yet been circulated by Mr. Johnson of St. Paul's Church Yard. I will here relate what happened to an emigrant English family at Philadelphia, which furnishes a striking instance. A bricklayer, named MASTERS, sold off his cow, his household goods, and some other little property, amounting in the whole to about one hundred pounds, left his home (a village in Kent), and went with his wife and ten children to Philadelphia, on board the ship *Belvidere*, Capt. Reynolds. During the passage, his wife and several of the children were ill. They were cruelly treated by the Captain, who would give them nothing but the ship provisions, and who, notwithstanding the weak condition of the females, kept them all penned up in a close and unwholesome part of the vessel. The woman was even dangerously ill, and her husband besought the Captain to give him a little oatmeal

Whereas, with a little assistance and encouragement, which is often of more real use than money, they may soon recover their health, strength, and spirits; and with proper advice with respect to the disposal of themselves, they may, in a short time, become useful citizens.

meal to make her some water-gruel, which the hard-hearted republican bashaw refused, though he, every day, washed his own vulgar visage and hands in oatmeal and water! By mere chance, none of them died at sea. Arrived at Philadelphia, they went on shore; but, in the dirty and diseased state to which they were reduced, they were thrust from every door they attempted to enter. The whole of the hundred pounds, the earnings of their lives, had been paid to the Captain for their passage to "the land flowing with milk and honey." Thus penniless and sick, they dragged their miserable carcasses out to the huts upon the commons, inhabited by negroes, where, after many vain solicitations, they obtained permission of a negro woman, to sleep upon her earthen floor for one night. Luckily for them a journeyman, who worked for an English master, happened to go by, and to be informed of their situation, which he made known to his master the next morning. This master, who was an intimate friend of mine, immediately repaired to the spot. He found them all sick, and starving. He immediately took a small house, and had them removed to it. The trustees of the Infirmary sent a doctor to attend them. My friend set on foot a subscription. The St. George's Society contributed a considerable sum; and the Captain of the vessel, seeing the poor creatures had found friends, thought it prudent to pay thirty dollars to save himself from a prosecution for his cruelty. If I recollect right, three of the children died, and I saw the man and several of the children sick in bed some weeks after their arrival. It was by mere accident, that any part of this family was preserved from death. Not that the Philadelphians are wanting in acts of humanity; on the contrary, they are very humane; but, it was not their duty to maintain these interlopers, and had it been so, the people would have been dead before any parish-officer would have heard of their situation. What punishment can be too severe for him, who can coolly set about exposing people to misery like this? Of all human beings, the most wicked and detestable are the land-jobbers of America and their agents in England.

For,

For, I would observe, that the benefit of this institution is not confined to giving pecuniary assistance to emigrants. Advice how to dispose of themselves to the most advantage, directions to cheap places of accommodation, some care to see that they are not imposed upon, and especially directions where to find employment, are often of much more use to them than money. And the persons who give their attention to the business of this institution are particularly assiduous in this respect; and by this means contribute more to its real utility than those who only give money. Few persons, however, are qualified to serve the institution in this way. They can only give money. But this money, in the hands of persons who can give their time, and employ their knowledge of the country to this purpose, will be of unspeakably more use, than if it had been given by themselves as mere charity. For this, without putting the poor emigrant in the way of providing for himself, would soon be expended; and then he would be as destitute as ever. And if there was no public institution to which he could have recourse, conducted by persons qualified to give him the best advice, he would be reduced to the necessity of begging from door to door, and thereby become a nuisance, instead of a benefit, to society.

Hence then we see the use of a *public institution*, which being generally known, necessitous emigrants will of course be directed to it; and thus none of their time will be lost, or their money needlessly expended.* But no institution of this kind can be supported without funds, as well as proper officers; and therefore this institution, the utility of which is so apparent, has a just claim to

* The *Emigration Society* is here meant. A set of sharpers, employed by the land-jobbers.

the benefactions of those who wish to employ what they can spare to the most advantage, for the service of their fellow creatures.

2. The present calamitous and oppressed state of Europe should more particularly draw the kind attention of the inhabitants of this country to the emigrants from that part of the world. Europe is not only overburdened with poor, but oppressed with servitude ; so that the poor are not only unable to subsist by their labour, but lie under great restrictions with respect to *civil and religious liberty*. They are even, in a great measure, deprived of the satisfaction of *expressing their feelings, of making complaints, or applying for redress of their grievances*.*

Many persons of better condition in those countries, especially in Great Britain and Ireland, unable to bear the encroachments that are continually making on their liberties, civil and religious, and despairing of doing any good by any exertions of theirs, are now coming hither, bringing with them very considerable capitals, by which this country is enriched.† In consequence of the purchases that foreigners of various descriptions, and especially those of this

* How false this is all the world knows ; but, methinks, the Doctor might have been silent upon the restrictions on *religious liberty*, at a time when he was kept out of every pulpit in Philadelphia, not excepting those of the Baptists, and the Muggletonians, and when the Emigration Society were obliged to hire for him the room in which he was then prating, which was, however let to them upon the express condition, that he should not inculcate his *deistical* doctrine. To this hour he has never been able to get a meeting-house in America. His congregation at Northumberland consists of half a dozen Negroes, himself, and family.—What a satire on the inhabitants of Hackney !

† The Doctor alludes here to the son of Mr. ERSKINE, and others of the same stamp. These men “ despair of doing any *good here*.” May their despair end but with their lives !

class, who have the greatest confidence in this government, are making, the price of your lands is daily rising, and your labourers and artisans are getting higher wages. This circumstance adding much to the wealth of the country in general, you are better able, out of the emolument accruing to yourselves from European persecution, to assist those who are distressed in consequence of it. The poor emigrant, therefore, in fact, only asks of you some part of that which you have gained by his more opulent brethren. These more opulent emigrants will, no doubt, exert themselves in behalf of their distressed countrymen; but it is not reasonable that the whole of the burden should lie upon them. *Many of them suffer considerably in their fortunes by the disadvantageous sale of their property in Europe, and* THE GREATER EXPENSE AT WHICH THEY ARE OBLIGED TO LIVE HERE.*

Let those, then, whose ancestors, if not themselves, were driven from Europe, by the same spirit of persecution which still prevails there, feel for those who are now in a similar situation; though it must be acknowledged, and with gratitude, that they now come with much better prospects. America is not at this day, as it was then, an inhospitable desert, or inhabited only by savages, at whose mercy they were, and of whom they consequently lived in continual dread; finding there nothing but that *liberty* which they wanted at home, but destitute of every thing else. But even then the natives of this country, before their jealousy was excited, and their passions inflamed, by the improper conduct of Europeans, afforded

* Mark this well. This is a proof of the *cheap living*, which so many discontented fools go to America to find. Let them go. Let the winter freeze them, and the summer thaw them, and the sun "draw their honours reeking up to Heaven."

much relief to some of the first settlers, and behaved to them with great kindness. America is now, to a great degree, peopled by Europeans, who have formed an excellent constitution of free government, having learned, by the example of the governments of Europe, what to aim at, and what to avoid, in their own institutions, and they are flourishing in all respects to a degree that was never known in any part of the world before.*

For this you are indebted to a good providence, seconding your virtuous and strenuous endeavours, in your late hard but successful struggle for liberty. Receive, then, with open arms, those who, at a distance, were praying for your success, and in various ways, though not by fighting, contributing to it, and for which they now suffer. For the crime of wishing well to the liberty and independence of America will never be forgiven by the Court of Great Britain.† The friends of America in Europe

* This was said in 1797. The Doctor has changed his opinion since. See the *Trial of Republicanism*, where he is shown to have declared just the contrary of what he here asserts.

† This passage, which is composed partly of truth, and partly of falsehood, requires some comment.—The rebellion, the Doctor styles a “*virtuous struggle for liberty*,” and he says, that the emigrants, amongst whom he certainly includes himself, “were praying for its success, and, in various ways, contributing to it.” This is very true, but the Doctor never confessed it so freely till he reached the transatlantic shore, and Mr. Johnson of St. Paul’s Church Yard has taken care never to publish the confession in England, even to this day. But here the Doctor ceases to speak truth. He says, that he and his brother emigrants now (in 1797) *suffer for having prayed for, and contributed to, the success of the American rebellion*, and “the crime of wishing well to the liberty and independence of America, will never be forgiven by the Court of Great Britain.” What an atrocious falsehood! That the crime ought never to be forgiven, until the criminals have received punishment, is certain; but, that any attempt, either direct or indirect, has ever been made, by the Court of Great Britain, to punish them, is the most impudent falsehood that ever dropped from the

hope, and I trust they will not hope in vain, to find the Americans friendly to them, while they

the lips, or the pen, of even a sectarian priest. No; on the contrary, those who wished well to the independence of America, have received but too much countenance; had it been otherwise, we should not, at this day, have to encounter the difficulties that surround us, and to strive against the poison that is rankling in the heart of the nation. Had it not been for the *Coalition*, into which Lord North suffered himself to be inveigled, we should, long before this time, have spoken of the abettors of the American rebellion, in language becoming the loyal people of an injured Sovereign. That many of them were deceived, is most true: these would have confessed their errors, and would have been pardoned by the nation; but, the traitors would have been consigned to everlasting infamy. It was that fatal coalition that drew a veil over every thing; that it was which gave to rebellion the name of revolution, and to rebels the name of patriots. From that hour, as far as related to the American war, treason became a virtue, and loyalty a reproach.

The Americans knew all this as well as the Doctor, and, therefore, they were not to be deceived by his cant. They perceived, that he made a merit of his treason, that he had come to the country with the hopes of being rewarded for it, and, though they like the treason well enough, they have given him most convincing proofs, that they despise the traitor. That he feels this, he made appear in his eleventh Letter to the inhabitants of Northumberland, published in the summer of 1799. The following is the plaintive passage:—"But to find
" in America the same maxims of government, and the same proceedings, from which many of us fled in Europe, and to be
" reproached as disturbers of government THERE, and chiefly because we did what the court of England will never forgive
" in favour of liberty here, is, we own, a great disappointment to us, especially as we cannot now return. Had Doctor Price himself, the great friend of American liberty in England, or Doctor Wren, with both of whom I zealously acted in behalf of your prisoners, who must otherwise have starved, and in every other way in which we could safely serve your cause; I say, had either of these zealous, and active, and certainly disinterested, friends of America, been now living, they would not have been more welcome here than myself, and they would have held up their hands with astonishment to see many of the old Tories, the avowed enemies of your revolution, in greater favour than themselves."

Oh! the glorious triumph of justice! No, Doctor, it is not the British Court, nor the British nation, that has brought on

come breathing the same generous spirit, and rejoice whenever they shall be enabled to do it, to add to the wealth and respectability of the country *to which they have long been looking with the most earnest expectation.*

Receive with equal humanity the *persecuted* of every description. Let your object be simply *distress*, and not political principles of any kind; and indulge no fear, jealousy, or suspicion, with respect to yourselves. The emigrants will, no doubt, form their opinion with respect to your government, and the administration of it; and finding themselves in a free country, they may express that opinion; and this opinion, being, perhaps, hastily adopted, may be very erroneous and unjust; but it is impossible it should do you any real injury. If the emigrants be men of information, and discernment, you may even receive benefit from the lights they may give you. Where there is perfect liberty of speaking and writing, no principles can be dangerous. In these circumstances, *truth* has a decided advantage, and will certainly prevail in the end.

But some distressed emigrants, you will say, are *men who have fled from their creditors, perhaps from the justice of their country*: Are these entitled to our assistance? I answer, that these cases cannot now be many, and *it is not possible for us, at this distance, to distinguish them.* Besides, the most vicious in one country, and especially a dis-

you your punishment; it is the unseen, the slow, but certain, hand of a just and over-ruling providence, which has torn you from your home and your friends, and exposed you to the reproach and derision of those very persons, from whom you expected a recompense for your malicious contrivances against your king and your country.

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tant one, being separated from their former connexions, and entering into new ones, of a better cast, may become reformed and useful citizens. Our natures being the same, the greater advantage to which the best of us appear is owing chiefly to our education and connexions, for which we are indebted to a kind providence. Let us, then, shew our gratitude to that providence which has favoured us, by our good will and liberality to those who, in this respect, as well as others, have been less favoured. Seasonable kindness may awaken the dormant seeds of virtue, especially in a country like this, in which there are few temptations to vice. How many *respectable*, as well as *opulent families in America*, have arisen from the most *indigent*, and the most *profligate in Europe*.^{*} And this is so far from being the subject of reproach, that it is a just ground of praise.

To give you some idea of the benefit that has already accrued from this society, I can inform you, from the reports of the acting committee, that since its formation it has been enabled to give such information to sixty-seven emigrants, on their arrival, as to obtain for them *almost immediate employment*. It has *afforded pecuniary assistance to one hundred and twenty persons in actual distress*, and to many of them advanced money to purchase working tools, &c. that they might follow their respective occupations. From the reports of the physician, it appears that the society has granted *both pecuniary and medical assistance to between sixty and*

* If the liberal Doctor had thrown out this hint in Virginia, instead of Pennsylvania, he would have required a couch and a litter to carry him home; for he most assuredly would not have had a whole bone left in his skin. It was exceedingly impudent; but the Doctor's loquacity stops at nothing.

seventy sick and needy emigrants,† many of whom laboured under infectious diseases, and who would most probably have been lost but for the timely and unremitting attention that was given to them. And no distinction has ever been made to any emigrant's country, his religion, or his political principles.

Here then, my brethren, an opportunity offers itself, which the truly benevolent and pious would think themselves happy to find, though it should cost them some pains to seek; an opportunity of disposing of some part of their superfluity in a manner highly honourable to themselves, and useful to others, and of course what will give them the most satisfaction to reflect upon hereafter. It is acting the part of good *brothers* in that great family of which God is the parent and head, a part that cannot but be pleasing to him, to whom we all, whether we be rich or poor, natives of any particular country, or foreigners, stand in the same relation. Is not every parent, who is deserving of the name, pleased to see his children act the part of true brothers to each other, that is, a friendly and benevolent part, from real affection and feeling for each other, and at the same time from a sense

† *One hundred and twenty in actual distress, pecuniary and medical aid to between sixty and seventy sick, all in one city, and in the space of about fourteen months! Emigrating must be a thriving trade. These people too were all strong and healthy when they left Europe!—For sixty-seven emigrants, this society found almost immediate employment. Bless us! what a fine thing it is to go to America! Almost immediate work! And a society formed, and charity sermons prated, for his important purpose too! I'll go back. It is positively the finest country in the world: it is "the land flowing with milk and honey."*—Now I think of it, this Emigration Society used to advertise the emigrants in my newspaper, and, by the same token, I remember that they are *still in my debt*. The treasurer, whose name was ZANE, broke, and ran off with the strong box!—A pretty crew!

of duty to their common parent. And we are all the offspring of God.

In having such an opportunity as now presents itself to us, we ought to think ourselves greatly honoured. To give and to befriend is godlike. For God is the universal benefactor with respect to all his creatures. And though, when in want, we ought not to refuse favours, but be thankful for them; since otherwise none could be bestowed; yet, of the two, *it is*, as our Saviour said, *more blessed to give than to receive.* Rejoice, then, my brethren, in having it in your power to chuse the better, the more honourable, and the more godlike part. And remember, that though the widow's mite will be accepted, and is a just subject of praise when it comes from a widow, or any other poor person, who can barely spare it, *he who, as the apostle says, soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully, while he who soweth sparingly, shall reap but sparingly.*

The blessedness of giving is not confined to the present world, but chiefly respects that which is to come. Our Saviour, in his first sermon, pronounced a blessing on the *merciful*, saying, *that they should obtain mercy*; and in his account of the proceedings of the last day, the only inquiry that is said to be made into any person's conduct, is whether he has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, or administered to any other of the wants of his fellow creatures. The apostle James also defines *pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father*, to be *the visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction*, as well as *keeping ourselves unspotted from the world.* Certainly, therefore, a most essential part of true religion must consist in doing kind offices to all who stand in need of them, and especially to the most destitute and the most deserving, and such, I think, I have shewn the distressed emi-

emigrants in general to be. Consider, then, their hard case with the attention that it deserves.*

* I have left out the concluding words of the Sermon. To place any thing in the form of a benediction at the end of such an address, is something approaching very near to blasphemy.

I have only to add, that, in spite of the Doctor's pathetic conclusion, he extracted only about seven dollars from the pockets of his hearers, which is no more than one pound, eleven shillings, and sixpence, a sum not sufficient to supply the "poor emigrants" with tobacco for the space of twenty-four hours.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the above notes (in May 1801), I have had put into my hands the following most infamous decoy, printed upon a quarter of a sheet of dirty-coloured paper, and intended for circulation in WALES, whence a copy of it was brought by a gentleman, who wished to see the practices of the land-jobbers exposed.

" *The Welch People residing in Cambria, in the State of Pennsylvania, to their Brethren in Wales, greeting.—America, printed in September, 1800, and reprinted by W. EDWARDS, Oswestry, in April, 1801.*

" We have received many letters from you of late, which have occasioned us much sorrow. It grieves us that we are not able to stretch unto you an hand of relief across the ocean. In answer to your inquiries, we need not say that in the *United States* there are almost all sorts of soils and climates. In the more southern ones, the weather is hot, and the summer long. In the northern ones though the summer is sufficiently warm, the winter is long and cold. The states of *New York* and *Pennsylvania* are esteemed the best for Europeans; the latter, on various accounts, should have the preeminence. In regard to our settlements, perhaps there may be many places easier to cultivate, and more convenient for a market; but it is not every where that the poor can have land before they pay for it.—The soil here is rich enough to bear all kinds of grain, and very good for hay and pasture. Well adapted for rearing cattle, and the making of chesse and butter. Our springs are numerous, and as pure as in any part of the world. We have
plenty

plenty of brooks to erect mills, and navigable rivers to the east within twenty or thirty miles, and to the west within twelve. No country abounds more with *sugar canes*, so that every family can make it for their own use. Hitherto we have a market for every thing we have to dispose of at *Beula*, a town in the middle of our settlement. There is a sufficient quantity of land for some thousands of people, and it is certain that three-fourths of it is sufficiently good to cultivate. It may now be purchased from 9s. to 18s. per acre. If one-fourth or one-fifth part of the money be paid at the time of purchasing, credit may be had for the remainder for five or seven years. The poor may have a lease for seven or ten years for nothing more than to build a cottage on the land, and cultivate as many acres as will be sufficient to support them. Though there be some difficulties at first in every new settlement, yet we think such places answer better for the diligent than to purchase land at a high price near the great towns.

“ There are some among us that were worth but little, who have now corn and cattle to sell.

“ Our end in establishing this settlement was for the general good of the *Welsh*, particularly that they may have the privilege of hearing the gospel in their own language. There are in *Cambria* preachers of different denominations, living together in peace and amity. We have three or four *Welsh* sermons every first day in the week, and there are *English* preachers in *Beula*. There are 350 lots in (and some near) the town given to support a school; more than 1000 books have been purchased for a general library, and 200 acres of land for the support of the preachers, not of any one particular sect or party, but such as are esteemed worthy, of every denomination, and profess *that Jesus is the Son of God, and Saviour of men*. We do not mention the above privileges to allure you into this neighbourhood, if you can do better in any other. Some of the *Welsh* have propagated an evil report of this place, and published great falsehoods of certain persons who live and have possessions among us, and for what reasons we know not, except it be that the *common enemy* raises obstacles and oppositions to every place and plan that tends to general good.

“ Though having met with many difficulties, as it is natural to expect the first years, we now increase our stock every year. Within the last four years, upwards of 100 families have come to our neighbourhood, and 100 more may get a comfortable livelihood here. Should any of you be disposed to come over here, we would advise you to consult the captain of the vessel with respect to victuals that will be necessary for your voyage, with a sufficient quantity of bread, water, salt meat, potatoes, oatmeal, and malt liquor.

“ After

" After landing in *America*, many sorts of people will be met with ; some will say this is the best place, and some another. All who are acquainted with our nation know it is easy to impose upon a *Welshman* ; therefore, we would advise them to be upon their guard. They who have families would do well to get a waggon immediately after their landing, and remove their goods out of the ship into it, and convey them to the place of their destination without delay. If they come hither (though they abide not), it will be cheaper for them to leave their families with us until they can find a place to their satisfaction, than in the cities, which in the summer are unhealthy to strangers, but the country round is as healthy as any part of *Wales*. Should any of the poor be disposed to come, and not able to bear the expense of their voyage,—if their friends be able to assist them, and can depend on their faithfulness, they will not be long here before they are repaid with thankfulness.

" The following table will inform you of the prices of different articles here (this present year), and the market rises and falls as in other countries.

" Wheat, 3s. to 4s. 6d. per bushel.—Rye, 2s. to 2s. 6d.—Oats, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.—Indian Corn, 2s. to 2s. 6d.—Potatoes, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.—Turnips, 6d. to 9d.—Butter, 4d. to 6d. per pound.—Cheese, 3d. to 5d.—Beef, 2d. to 2½d.—Bacon, 2½d. to 3d.—Workmens' Wages, 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day, and board.

" We have here set down the prices in English money, that you may understand them better. Every article is dearer in the towns than in the country, except such commodities as are imported from other countries.

	(Signed)	
" Theophilus Rees,		Rees Lloyd,
William Jenkins,		Simon James, &c."

Never was there, in so small a compass, so many falsehoods. —At the time this pamphlet was printed, wheat was *nine* shillings a bushel at Philadelphia, salt butter *ten* pence a pound, and pork *six* pence a pound.—*Sugar canes*, every man of any information knows, are not to be found in the United States ; and, in short, the whole pamphlet is a base and infamous trick to decoy the poor Welch from their home, to go and augment the population, and the value of the land, at *Cambria*, where *Theophilus Rees*, and his relation *Morgan Rees*, have purchased great quantities of land, and where they have already ruined hundreds of poor creatures, whom they have deluded thither.

END OF VOL. IX.



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